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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

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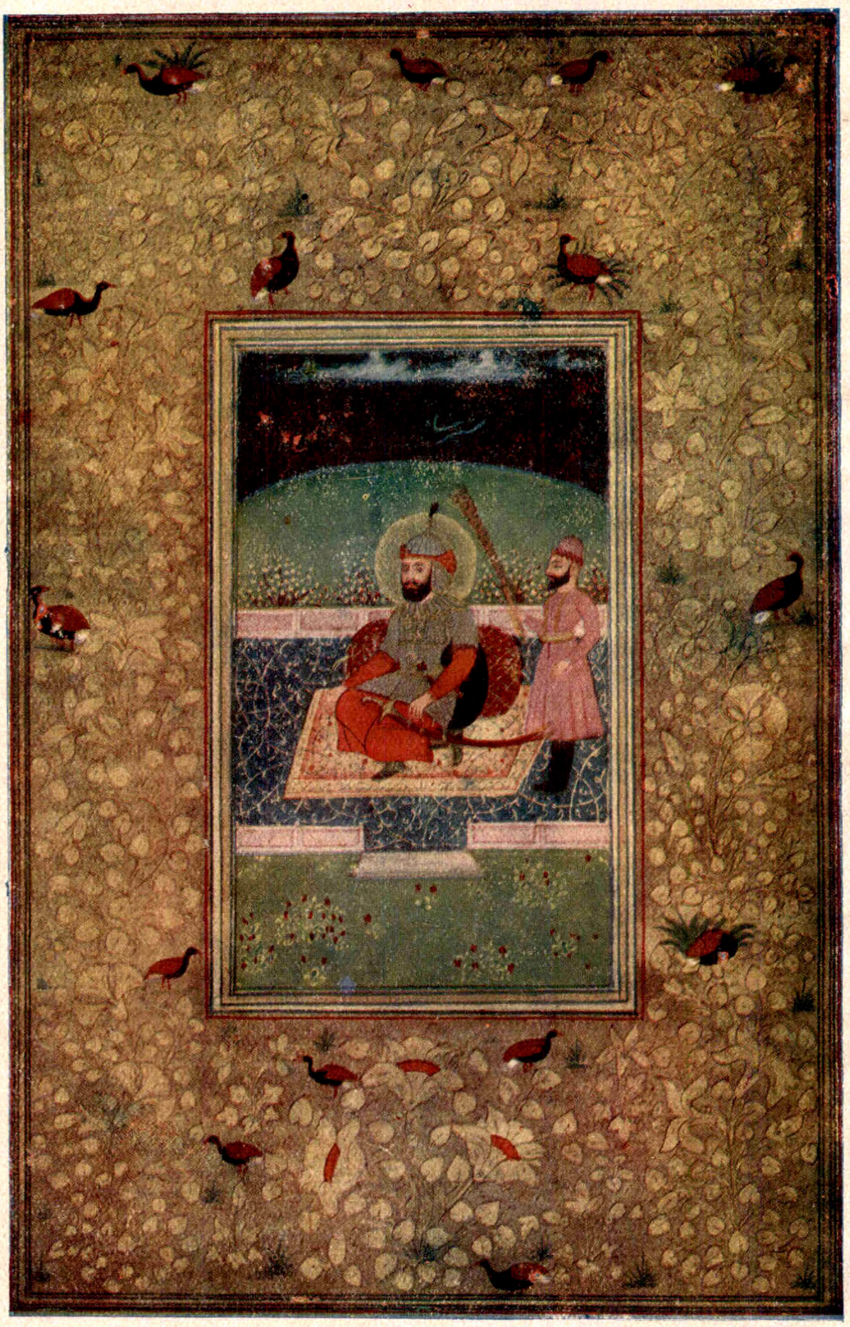

EMPEROR SHER SHAH

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

OCTOBER, 1924

SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE[1]

The death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee has taken from India her greatest citizen. Some among his contemporaries may have equalled him in renown and surpassed him in fame, others may have served their country with like zeal and devotedness, yet none can pretend to the same glorious title as he so justly claims.

At the end of his brilliant studies, during which he gave proof of talents as varied as they were exceptional, especially in regard to Mathematics, he took to the law, and secured so rapidly the reputation of a skilled jurist that he was appointed a Judge of the High Court at Calcutta. Yet his activities were not limited to his professional duties, however weighty these could be. His ardent ambition was the furtherance of the public good.

In India ever aiming at an ideal, and, owing to the awakening of the national spirit, in restless turmoil since the close of the nineteenth century, patriotism has naturally assumed a mystic phase. It is a new religion which associates itself to the rites made sacred by tradition; it speaks in the same terms, and as readily awaits its triumph by miraculous intervention. Possessing a lawyer's mind familiar with the exact sciences, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee rightly estimated the power of the law and the true function of education. Without ever visiting Europe or studying beyond the confines of his own country, he gauged the fundamental principles of Western institutions and determined to use them to advantage.

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[1] Translated from original French by Father F. K. Crohan.

The Calcutta University existed but in name. It consisted—a sort of English copy—of a group of affiliated colleges and an examining body. Sir Asutosh desired to endow at least Bengal with a really higher teaching, with professors and students animated by a like inspiration, alive to their duties for the forming of a new India, and capable of fulfilling them. Masterly in his methods, he associated himself with committees and conferences and held in them a conspicuous place. He joined the Senate, then the Syndicate and at last became Vice-Chancellor. He was President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, he instituted the Mathematical Society of Bengal and was its President as well. Wherever his influence reigned, order and activity prevailed. Being a man of action he sacrificed nothing to the dream of an utopian perfection. As co-workers he sought out the best, tolerated the less-talented and left it to time to remedy existing deficiencies; he augmented the professorships, increased the number of lectures and added to the list of University publications. While the other Universities of India had but a bare existence, the University of Calcutta saw its Faculties flourish, its students more numerous, Indian professors installed in all the departments of learning, and India herself placed in the very centre of the programme of studies as their bond and their *raison d'être*; while the Bengalee language, hitherto recognised only as a branch of study, ennobled by its long-standing literature and brought more in touch with the world at large by the works of Tagore, now claimed its place with English, the official tongue, as a medium of instruction.

The Government, defeated on the legal aspect of the case in the face of an opponent skilful in keeping within the limits of the law, had recourse to political devices. They took up once more the project of the Partition of Bengal, which had been reluctantly abandoned, owing to violent public protests, and made it a University question. They reduced the University budget; and a new University established at Dacca, to favour Mahomedan interests, was lavishly endowed. Never did Sir Asutosh rise to greater heights than at this crisis. He stood inflexible without for a moment deviating from regard for the law. He repudiated every undignified compromise, inspired all around, even the European professors, with his disinterested zeal, and avowed his readiness to beg if needed, after the manner of the sages of old, for the support of both teachers and students. In truth, regarded either as Vice-Chancellor (the Governor of Bengal is the Chancellor by right) or as occupying temporarily a less prominent position, he was and will ever remain the "grand Master" of the University. He was President of both departments of scientific research (Post-graduate study), Science and Arts. He gave himself whole-heartedly to the work, he followed closely all its details, being accessible to all who approached him, he drew up the reports, gave addresses in which he laid open his plans and the aims he had in view, and delivered these addresses in a psalmodic tone, which accentuated his phrases and ideas as if to impress them more surely and more deeply on the minds of his hearers.

Of athletic build, short and massive, his strong frame resting on robust lower limbs wrapped in the ample folds of his Bengalee dress, imperious in look, yet with an air of frankness that drew men to him, with a brusque manner which did not, however, veil his goodness of soul, with his bushy moustache falling loosely over his lips, he was a familiar figure, and they called him "the tiger" (purusa-sārdūla). His courage was never daunted by any menace when there was question of furthering the public good.

A zealous Buddhist, whose dream it was to revive in India a lost Buddhism, instituted at Calcutta the Mahabodhi Society and offered the Presidentship to Sir Asutosh. Orthodox though he was, Sir Asutosh accepted the offer, and it was he who received with all due ceremonial the relics of the greatest of India's sons. When his daughter, in keeping with existing custom, was married in early youth, and while yet young became a widow, Sir Asutosh was bold enough to have her remarried, much to the scandal of the higher classes of society and when widowed again she was taken from him by a premature death, some good souls were inclined to see in this the vengeance of the gods. Yet he was not disconcerted and he sought his comfort in the discharge of new duties.

The strain, however, told at last on this indefatigable champion. Death suddenly struck him on May 25th at Patna where, having resigned the Bench, he was engaged as a lawyer in defending a well-known case.

The University and all Bengal mourn him deeply. India has not yet realised the loss she has sustained.

SYLVAIN LEVI

AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA

By far the most striking characteristic of the economic life of India is the overwhelming preponderance of agriculture. No less than 230·7 million people out of a total population of 319 millions in 1921 derived their means of subsistence directly from agriculture; and the normal volume of agricultural output is so great that, after meeting the demands of the entire population for all agricultural commodities save cotton and sugar, there is still left a large balance, which constitutes the bulk of the export trade of the country. It provides all the food-grains consumed in the country, and in normal years leaves a moderate surplus for export. It yields a very large crop of cotton, about half of which is worked up in the country, while half is exported. It provides the jute supply of the whole world; and it gives a large crop of oil-seeds which not only satisfies the entire demand of India, but leaves a large and valuable surplus for export. It supplies some 40 per cent. of the tea supplied to the world's markets, and finally it provides the whole of the raw sugar consumed in the country, which is roughly seven times as great as the quantity of refined sugar imported. In 1920-1921, agricultural produce formed 69 per cent. of the total export trade.

Even in the classical days of Greece and Rome, the agricultural products of India had won her special fame and cotton, sugarcane, and indigo were distinctively her speciality. The present position of these crops in India serves to show how her precedence in this direction has long passed away. To-day, the United States of America produce 200, and the Nile-fed regions of Egypt, 450 lbs. to every 85 lbs. of ginned cotton an Indian acre yields. With half the world's acreage under sugarcane, India's output is only one-quarter of the world's supply of cane-sugar; and the Indian Sugar Committee states that India's outturn of sugar per acre is less than one-third of Cuba's, one-sixth of Java's and one-seventh of Hawaii's. Her once famous indigo industry has received a mortal blow owing to the competition of synthetic substitutes. And even in the matter of food-production, she has now receded to the background.[1]

Judged thus by the test of quantitative production, Indian agriculture appears on the whole to have remained backward and unprogressive; and the causes are not far to seek. They are to be found in the environments under which the industry grew up, which, as we have seen elsewhere, were not favourable to development of any kind ; and also in those features of Indian agriculture which are peculiarly its own. These distinctive features may thus be summed up. 'In the first place, the outlook of the Indian peasant is fundamentally vegetarian. He does not as a rule eat flesh of any sort, and the production for the market of meat and other animal substances, including even milk and butter, is mainly in the

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[1] Sir James Wilson estimated that the average outturn of wheat per acre sown was 32 bushels in Great Britain, 22 in Canada, 16 in the United States, and 13 in the Punjab. Comparative figure for pre-war food production are as follows:—

Country.	Cultivated acreage.	Acreage per head.	Population.	Food production (tons) 1911-1913.	Calories per capita in millions.*
U.S.A. ...	318,526,000	3·5	91,972,000	133,411,308	4·63
Russia ...	278,615,000	1·7	163,779,000	121,600,344	1·83
British India ...	264,858,000	1·1	244,268,000	59,637,968	0·81
German Empire	65,445,000	1·0	67,812,000	84,331,901	2·12
Argentine ...	44,446,000	6·3	7,092,000	14,479,614	6·45
United Kingdom	17,862,000	0·4	45,336,000	14,040,491	0·56
Japan ...	17,639,000	0·3	51,646,000	11,924,729	0·72

* A million calories—the fuel value of ten bushels of wheat. Prof. Atwater, an American authority, considers that an average man, at moderate muscular work, requires 3,500 c. per day. *Vide* " A Geography of the World's Agriculture," U.S.A. Dept. of Agriculture, Washington, 1917.

hands of special classes of the people, and does not enter into the business of the ordinary agriculturist. Secondly, capitalist farming is an exception; the bulk of the land is occupied in small holdings, cultivated largely by the labour of the peasant and his family. Thirdly, agriculture is even now largely in the self-sufficing stage; a supply of food for the household is still the peasant's primary object although the importance of raising produce for sale is steadily increasing. Fourthly, the climate of the greater part of the country renders artificial irrigation either necessary or desirable, if not for the ordinary staples, at least for the success of the more costly and remunerative crops. Fifthly, the agricultural industry has been subject to frequent periods of entire disorganisation consequent on the failure of the seasonal rains, and resulting in the past not only in the terrible mortality which formerly marked the progress of a famine, but also in the destruction, more or less complete, of the meagre capital employed by the peasant. As the result of these and other causes, agricultural capital has been scarce and dear throughout the centuries which are to any extent open to our observation. Lastly, and on a somewhat different plane, the industry grew up in conditions where iron was a rare and costly product—a fact of which the results are seen not merely in the nature of the indigenous appliance, but in the difficulty experienced by the peasants in maintaining the new implements now placed in their hands. These and other conditions, operating through a period which must be counted by centuries, have combined to produce the Indian peasant as the English found him in the eighteenth century, and substantially as he is to-day.'[1]

But, if internal conditions were not favourable to development, there were powerful external agencies at work, transforming the character of Indian husbandry. The course of foreign trade and the development of communications led to the introduction of a variety of important crops, such as maize, tobacco, ground-nuts, and potatoes, while at a later stage, the commercial activities of the East India Company involved development in such staples as indigo, jute, tea and coffee, important to the foreign merchant rather than to the local consumer. The breakdown of rural isolation and the increasing response to the impulse which railways and steam navigation have given to the economic life of the country have resulted, among other things, in ushering in an era of high prices for agricultural commodities, which, in its turn has led to increased specialisation in particular crops. The entry of India into the markets of the world, by which the farmer in his distant and land-locked village obtained a share of the price offered by far-off nations for articles which once merely supplied the needs of the rural life of his neighbourhood, offered him a splendid opportunity to earn greater profits and improve his material conditions. The development of transport modified the one-time violent fluctuations between harvest and bazaar prices, and thus rendered the farmer less open for exploitation.[1] Before the advent of railways, as Mr. Datta has pointed out,[2] in remote areas, whenever production was plentiful, prices went down very low, because of the difficulty, and in many cases the impossibility, of transporting it profitably to a place where prices were higher. On the other hand, whenever the crops failed, prices rose exceptionally high, owing to the difficulty of importing supplies from outside. Railways have now linked up different parts of the country, and have constituted it into, as it were, one market. The deficiency in one part of India now makes itself felt all over the country within a very short space of time, and is made good at once, the rise in the price level being comparatively small. The powerful and ubiquitous agency of organised commerce has taken the place of the old system of isolated self-supporting villages. And everywhere within the railway zone, there is a general levelling of prices, and even the local prices are now-a-days greatly affected by prices in distant parts of the world. The opening of the Suez Canel, which rendered it possible to place in the European markets the bulkier and heavier kinds of Indian produce, has also directly assisted this tendency. The following table illustrates the rise in Indian price-levels.

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[1] *Vide* Quarterly Review, Oct. 1916, p. 344.

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[1] This point has been dealt with in great detail by Sir Theodore Morison, "The Industrial Organisation of an Indian Province," pp. 215-229 and 235-238.

[2] Enquiry into the Rise of Prices in India, Calcutta, 1914, Vol. I, p. 78.

INDEX NUMBERS OF PRICES.[1]

(Average price in 1904-1913—100)

Period.	Rice (Calcutta)	Wheat (Karachi)	Raw Cotton (Bombay)	Jute (Calcutta)
1869-1873, Quinqennial average ...	47	75	93	45
1874-78 Do. ...	69	83	73	49
1879-83 Do. ...	58	87	85	50
1884-88 Do. ...	60	80	83	48
1889-93 Do. ...	75	90	83	68
1894-98 Do. ...	84	84	75	69
1899-1903 Do. ...	76	85	74	68
1904-08 Do. ...	103	92	90	99
1909-13 Do. ...	97	109	110	102
1914-18 Do. ...	113	133	141	118
1919 Annual average ...	147	184	236	185
1920 Do. ...	176	172	187	162
1921 Do. ...	159	220	120	169

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[1] *Vide* "Prices and Wages in India, 1923 Edition, App. A. Appendix gives an explanation of the price-levels.

Defects of internal business organization have, however, prevented the farmer from obtaining his legitimate share of the high prices paid; but not even the unconscionable profit intercepted by the vast array of middlemen who infest the Indian market have been able to withhold from him some share in it; and however minute in amount, in the aggregate it must be considerable, and wisely expended, must play its own part in strengthening the peasant's position. What has been the actual effect of this rise in prices on the peasant himself has been a highly controversial point. Similar experience in other countries would naturally suggest that its effect on the producer must have been beneficial.[1] That the Indian peasant utilised his opportunity, and made some more money, is undoubted. He is getting, and spending much more than formerly; and he has prospered most in tracts where the increasing profits of the cultivation of jute and cotton have tempted him to extend their cultivation, or where extension of irrigation has enabled him to convert dreary sands and jungles into smiling fields of wheat.[2] The standard of living among all classes of the population, especially among landholders, traders and ryots, has increased very considerably in recent years, and extravagance on occasions of marriage and other social ceremonies has seriously increased. The average villager lives in a better house and eats better food than did his father; brass and other metal vessels have taken the place of coarse earthenware and the clothing of his family in quality and quantity has improved.[3] But in considering a rise in the standard of living, it is necessary to distinguish between a high standard and an efficient standard. A high standard of living ordinarily means only an expensive standard. If every additional expense added to one's standard of living adds correspondingly to one's productive efficiency, then a high standard is also an efficient standard; but if it does not in any way increase one's efficiency then it is merely an expensive standard, and will handicap its possessor in the struggle for existence. A standard of living must be protected by its own efficiency, and the problem of maintaining it is, in final analysis, the problem of rationalizing the high standard and making it efficient.[1] In applying this proposition to India, two points have to be kept in mind. First, owing to the inexpansiveness of wants among the Indian people, whatever rise has taken place has reference to quality rather than to variety. The few wants satisfied, their increased income is made use of, not to develop further wants which promote efficiency, but, as Mr. Datta has pointed out, to indulge in wasteful extravagances. In the second place, their higher income is in many places being utilised for securing greater leisure, and doing less work. More will have to be said of this later on; here, we may sum up situation by saying that, while that part of the increased earnings which has gone to improve the land has undoubtedly improved the farmer's position, the same cannot be asserted of all that part of it which has gone to raise his standard of comfort; and when it is remembered that a rise in agricultural prices has been a normal feature of at least the last half century, it will have to be admitted that its beneficial effects have not yet manifested themselves appreciably, either in the standard of living or in that of farming, it has therefore to be concluded that the opportunity thus presented has not been availed of to the fullest extent by the Indian agriculturist.

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[1] *Cf.* Therold Rogerz: History of Agriculture and Prices, Vol. IV, Chap. XXVI. A rise in the price of agricultural produce, unless it be the result of moderately bad seasons is always advantageous to those who are tilling land, whether it comes from a change in the value of money, or from an increased demand, or from a greatly deficient supply.

[2] *Vide* Report on the Enquiry into the Rise of Prices in India, pp. 153 *et. seq.*

[3] *Ibid*, p. 185.

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[1] Prof. T. N. Carver elaborates this point in "The Annals," XL, March 1912, 'Country Life,' 21-25. It is of special importance in judging the relative merits of the arguments for and against the importation of cheap labour into countries where a high standard prevails, and the complaint is urged that in the conflict of standards, the lower drives out the higher.

Another direction in which the rise of prices consequent on the opening up of the country to foreign markets has affected the rural economy of India is in the increased specialisation in some areas in some particular crops. "Cotton is now no longer planted in small patches in almost every village where conditions are not absolutely prohibitive, but is concentrated in areas which are specially adapted to its various types. The dry plains of central and western India are admirably suited to a short-stapled but prolific kind; while the canal-fed zones of the Punjab, the United Provinces and Sind are producing as increasing quantity of longer-stapled types, which are also grown in the retentive soil and moister climate of Gujarat and in well-irrigated zones in Madras. The peculiarly favourable climate of Bengal has tempted the ryots to extend their jute cultivation, often at the expense of their food-stuffs, while sugar-cane is disappearing from tracts not specially suited for it. A visible sign of this movement may be seen in the abandoned stone cane mills lying near villages in the arid plains of Central India, which now prefer to keep their scanty stores of water for other crops, and pay for their sugar by the sale of their cotton.[1] The Punjab Canal Colonies are specialising in wheat production, while capitalist agriculture, as represented by the planting industries of tea, coffee, rubber, etc., is confining itself to areas where the natural advantages favouring the special crop are greatest, though, in this case, it has to be remembered that these crops are mainly new introductions into areas previously unoccupied, and do not therefore indicate correctly the phase in the transition in Indian agriculture we are now discussing. In the more progressive tracts, it is coming to be realised that it may be more advantageous to grow a more profitable crop for sale, and to buy the needs of the household from the proceeds, than to grow all one's necessities oneself. In other words, the cultivator now realises that it pays him better to live on the profits derived from his farm than on the products that he himself grows. This commercialisation of agriculture takes us further and further from the old self-sufficing ideal of economic life, and furthers a better exploitation of the land and of its natural qualities than was previously possible.[1]

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[1] Indian Industrial Commission Report, Cud 51 of 1919, p. 8.

While external influences have thus profoundly modified some aspects of Indian husbandry, they have not been able in any sensible degree to affect its internal economy. Whatever progress has been made in this direction is mainly due to the exertions of the Government in that behalf. The motives that induced the Government to interest itself in agriculture were two-fold. In the first place, it was a question of getting more revenue. To no country in the world does Quesnay's well-known maxim, "*Pauvres paysans, pauvre royaume, pauvre royaume pauvre roi*" apply with greater force than to India." "For generations to come," so runs one of Lord Mayo's Despatches, "the progress of India in wealth and civilisation must be directly dependent on her progress in agriculture .....There is perhaps no country in the world in which the state has so immediate and direct an interest (in agriculture). The Government of India is not only a Government, but the chief landlord. The land revenue is derived from that portion of the rent which belongs to the State, and not to individual proprietors. Throughout the greater part of India, every measure for the improvement of the land enhances the value of the property of the State. The duties which in England are performed by a good landlord fall in India in a great measure upon the Government. Speaking generally, the only Indian landlord who can command the requisite capital and knowledge is the State." [2] Apart from this desire to secure greater revenues from the land, there was the humanitarian impulse to improve the conditions of the one exclusive occupation to which the vast bulk of the people looked for their livelihood. On the one hand there was the recurrence of famines, when the failure of the monsoon brought about a lock-out, and millions were thrown into unemployment and privation: on the other, there were those undesirable features of Indian husbandry, increasing indebtedness and inability to hold over stocks for sale in a rising market, which have operated through generations to depress the peasant and impair his efficiency. The idea of creating a Government Department of Agriculture appears to have been first mooted in 1866, on the conclusion of the work of the Bengal and Orissa Famine Commission, but Lord Lawrence thought the step premature. Outside pressure was soon brought to bear on the Government of India by the Manchester Cotton Supply Association, which urged the more active employment of District Officers in the cultivation of Indian cotton. With the arrival in India of Lord Mayo, himself a practical agriculturist, the problem began to receive serious attention. In 1869, definite schemes were formulated for organising an agricultural Bureau, and the next year saw the establishment of a "Department of Agriculture Revenue, and Commerce," with the late Mr. A. O. Hume as Secretary. Lord Mayo's enthusiasm for agriculture, however, evoked no responsive echo in Whitehall. The Secretary of State, in his anxiety to concentrate all attention on Revenue, transformed the new Department primarily into a Revenue Department[1] and burdened it with such heavy duties of a multifarious description that, in the words of an official document, "it had neither the leisure nor the power to take up either directly or efficiently the many problems which affect the agriculture and rural economy of the Empire."[1] In 1879, the department ceased its independent existence, having been re-absorbed in the Home Department.

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[1] See on this point "Wealth and Welfare of the Punjab" by Mr. H. Calvert, I.C.S., pp. 11-14, where the author examines some of the objections raised against this tendency in India.

[2] Sir W. W. Hunter's Life of Lord Mayo, Vol. II, p. 322.

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[1] See his despatch of the 3rd August, 1871; also Sir W. Wedderburn's Life of A. Hume, pp. 27-28.

The Famine Commission of 1880 once again brought the matter to the fore. It emphasised the necessity for calling into existence an organisation invested with the following duties:—

First, to ascertain more systematically and completely, and to render more generally available, statistics of important agricultural and economic facts in order that the Government and its officers may be always in possession of an adequate knowledge of the actual condition of the country, its population, and its resources:

Secondly, to pay attention to the general improvement of Indian agriculture with the view of increasing the food-supply and general resources of the people:

Thirdly, to effect the better and more prompt organisation of famine relief whenever the actual approach of famine may be indicated by the statistical information mentioned in the first paragraph above.

The Commission, therefore, recommended the creation of an agricultural department, to be aided by provincial departments, the absence of which was one of the causes of the failure of the earlier experiment.[2]

Accordingly, in 1881, the central department was resuscitated, and provincial Departments of Land Records and Agriculture also came speedily into being. The spirit however, in which the work was undertaken once again threatened to wreck the experiment. What the Famine Commission obviously meant by agricultural enquiry was as much the collection of data regarding the crops and methods of cultivation and the manner in which they could be improved, as of statistics regarding systems of land tenure, and the taxable capacity of land. And while the Government was undoubtedly right in putting agricultural enquiry before agricultural improvement, as it did in its Resolution of December 1881, it was only reverting to the error of 1871 when it subordinated agriculture to the preparation of Land Records and other kindred matters. In its chosen track, however, the re-organised department, under the able guidance of Sir (then Mr.) Edward Buck, did excellent work, perfecting the Land Record system and drawing up a famine code; and in 1888, it announced itself ready to embark on the more ambitious task of agricultural improvement.

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[1] Government of India's Resolution of December, 1881.

[2] The Indian Famine Commission Report, C. 2591 of 1880, Vol. I, p. 41, para. 125.

Toward the end of 1889, Dr. J. A. Voclecker, of the Royal Agricultural Society, was sent out to make a study of Indian Agricultural conditions, and in the memorable "Report on the Improvement of Indian Agriculture"[1] that he brought out, he expressed the belief that Indian agriculture was neither backward nor primitive, and that where agriculture was manifestly inferior it was more generally the result of absence of facilities than of inherently bad systems of cultivation. That improvement was possible was clear from the differences of agricultural conditions and practices existing in the different parts of the country[2] He recommended, therefore, the establishment of an organised system of agricultural enquiry and the spread of general and scientific education, and indicated in great detail directions in which improvements were to be attempted. In vigorously repelling the charge that Indian agriculture is, on the whole, primitive the earlier writers have incurred the criticism that, by lending the weight of their authority to the cultivator's own belief that he knew all that was worth knowing about the capacity of his land and the growing of crops, they have in some degree retarded the pace of development,[1] by turning public attention away from the obvious defects of the Indian system. But all these writers were fully alive to the shortcomings of Indian husbandry, and were persistent advocates for the raising of the general level of tillage and culture by introducing into the more backward tracts the methods prevailing in the more efficiently cultivated regions. The immediate result of Dr. Voeleker's visit was the starting of scientific investigation in agriculture. But the need for something more than chemistry was being felt, and the provinces were interesting themselves increasingly in the problem.

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[1] Eyro and Spottishwoode, 1893.

[2] *Vide* Chap. II.

It was at this happy juncture that Lord Curzon assumed the Viceroyalty in India. Among the various schemes he initiated for the improvement of the material conditions of the people, the re-organisation of the Agricultural Department deserves a prominent place. In the Budget Debate of 1898, Mr. (now Sir) P. A. Nicholson had called his attention to the fact that, owing to lack of funds, the Department of Agriculture was merely a '*nominis umbra*,' and made the suggestion that there should be a clear indication from the Government that strenuous effort after agricultural development, as distinct from statistical and record work, was to be the immediate and urgent order of the day. The Report of the Famine Commission of 1901 also put in a similar plea. The relevant passage may be quoted : "much progress has been made in the last twenty years, but the progress has been unequal, and the time has in our opinion now come for a further advance. These agricultural departments have a double function to discharge, and this is expressed in their designation as Departments of

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[1] *Cf.* Lovat Fraser, "India under Curzon and After" 1911, p. 371 : "The comfortable gospel expounded by Dr. Voeleker had checked agricultural development, though such a result was very far from his intention." The earlier writers I have referred to, are : A. O. Hume, "Agricultural Reform in India," 1879, pp 4-5. Dr. Voeleker, Report, pp. 10-11 ; see also W. H. Moreland, "Agriculture of the United Provinces," p. 92.

Land Records and Agriculture. They have on the Land Records side to register all facts connected with the tenure of land, with questions of rent and revenue, and with agricultural statistics. On the agricultural side, they have to deal with the condition of the cultivating classes, with agriculture, and with agricultural methods, and the various questions connected with their efficiency. We are indeed far from thinking that the Indian cultivator is ignorant of agriculture; in the mere practice of cultivation, agricultural departments have probably much to learn from the cultivator. But in the utilisation of his hereditary skill, in economy of the means of production, and in the practice of organised self-help, the Indian cultivator is generally ignorant and backward. It is in correcting these deficiencies that agricultural departments will find their richest fields of labour. Without pretending to exhaust the number of subjects on which these departments may usefully employ themselves, we may mention the following :—improved agricultural teaching to the better classes ; the promotion of Mutual Associations ; agricultural research and experiment ; enquiries regarding tillage and manure ; the investigation of crop diseases and their remedies; the provision of improved seed, the experimental introduction of new staples; the improvement of cattle-breeding ; the investigation of cattle diseases ; and the development of the fodder supply. To some of these subjects, more or less attention has, we know, been already given; but they all claim greater and more systematic attention. To this end the employment of a stronger expert staff in every province is necessary. The steady application to agricultural problems of expert research is the crying necessity of the time."[1] The Government of India adopted the policy here adumbrated ; steps were taken to separate Land Records from Agriculture ; and an Inspector-General of Agriculture was attached to the

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[1] The Indian Famine Commission Report, Cd. 876 of 1901, pp. 112-113.

Government of India to secure co-ordination among the various provincial departments, and give unity to the scheme of development. "Such," sums up Mr. J. Mackenna,[1] were the beginnings of agricultural policy—if it can be called a policy. Early endeavours were too ambitious, and the machinery—a centralised secretariat—was imperfect. The object aimed at was to increase the revenues of India by the improvement of agriculture, but nothing was done for that improvement, and the expansion of the land records staff and the compilation of statistics almost entirely occupied the attention of the Provincial Departments. But the foundations had been laid, and the next few years were to witness a rapid development."

Lord Curzon's reforms were exceedingly well-timed ; and with their inauguration opens a fresh chapter in the history of Indian agriculture. The earlier efforts of the Department, as we have seen, were not exactly calculated to win the ryots' confidence. Whether it be from the paucity of trained agricultural teachers, or because of the mistaken methods adopted by the men who were already available, certain it is that much of their earlier work proved fruitless and disappointing. Even as early as 1870, Lord Mayo had clearly laid down the limits within which the department could profitably act. He realised the folly of trying to teach the Indian husbandman his own trade by means of steam ploughs and ammoniac manure. "I do not know," he once wrote, "what is precisely meant by ammoniac manure. If it means guano, super-phosphate or any other artificial product of that kind, we might ask the people of India to manure their ground with champagne." And again, "In connection with agriculture, we must be careful of two things : First, we must not ostentatiously tell native husbandmen to do things which they have been doing for centuries. Second, we must not tell them to do things which they can't do, and have no means of doing. In either case, they will laugh at us, and they will learn to disregard really useful advise when it is given." Yet, curiously enough, these were precisely the mistakes made by the earlier reformers, and as the Famine Commission of 1880 pointed out[1] the defect in the efforts made by Government to instruct the cultivator consisted in the failure to recognise the fact that, in order to improve Indian agriculture, it was necessary to be thoroughly acquainted with it, and to learn what adaptation was needed to suit modern and more scientific methods and maxims to the Indian staples and climate. A few examples may be given to illustrate how the new-found enthusiasm of the earlier agricultural reformers allowed itself to be diverted into unprofitable channels. In 1863, the Government of Sir William Denison in Madras ordered—"a steam plough, some harrows, and cultivators, seed-drills and horse-hoes, threshing machines and winnowers, chaff-cutters, water-lifts," etc., and started a model farm at Saidapet to demonstrate the use of these implements. It was an ill-conceived experiment. The site chosen was not suited for farming purposes, the whole scheme was founded on wrong principles, and there was infinitely little prospect of the machinery they had imported finding its way to general adoption in the agriculture of the country; and, in the words of the Director of the Madras Agricultural Department, "the results obtained were so far as the agriculture of the country was concerned, purely negative.[2] Similar misfortunes awaited the Bengal pioneers, and the work of the Bengal Agricultural Department came in for some caustic criticism from the Government in 1893-94: "The record of the ignorant and unsuccessful experiments conducted on private estates at the instance of the Department is rather ludicrous, and at the same time, rather lamentable. It is perhaps good for Government Officers and Zemindars to have

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[1] In his pamphlet on "Agriculture in India," 1915, Calcutta Government Press.

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[1] *Vide* Report, C. 2591, Vol. I, Part II, p. 138.

[2] *Vide* Mr. Voclcker's Report, p. 370.

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taken this interest in the crops and learnt a few rudimentary lessons in cultivation, and enabled themselves to share in the feelings of agriculturists as to the vicissitudes of weather; but it is idle to hope for any serious improvement in the agriculture of the country to be effected in this way."[1] But the earlier failures were helpful in their own way in that, besides emphasising the necessity for a close study of local conditions and practices before framing a programme of development, they have also served to train up farm staffs in the work of careful observation and record. The ground was thus prepared for the scientific and demonstration work of Lord Curzon's new department,—work which has since proved so abundantly fruitful.

It will be beyond the scope of this study to attempt anything more than a rapid survey of the work already done by Governmental agencies in the development of agricultural technique and equipment. On the side of cultural improvement, the effort has been in the direction of studying local conditions and practices, and trying to level up the differences noted by introducing in the more backward provinces the practices in vogue in the more advanced. In the matter of crops, they have aimed at the improvement of indigenous variation by isolating the pure types, selecting those which promise the best yield and quality, and supplying the defects in the types selected by hybridisation on Mondolism lines. The new seed is then widely distributed, while at the same time, attempts are made to introduce new but thoroughly adaptable types. This is accompanied by experiments to ascertain the character of the soil, and the effects on it of the various ameliorative processes such as draining and irrigation; and attention is also being paid to the principles of manuring and the maintenance of fertility. The aim throughout has been the evolution of such types as would fit in with local conditions,

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[1] Quoted at p. 12, J. Mackenna's "Agriculture in India."

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rather than the introduction of absolutely new ones; and in adjudging the importance of this work, it is necessary to remember that while the question of the suitability of crops to existing conditions is a matter of little moment to a farmer possessing necessary capital to supply irrigation water, plenty of manure, and efficient tillage implements, to the Indian ryot possessing few of these advantages, this is a matter of the most vital concern. The improvement of the soil and other local conditions will be a matter of slower progress, as capital, or at least credit will have to be more adundantly forthcoming for its fulfilment. The chief advantage of varietal improvement lies in that, once the improved strains are established, propagation is simple, and little, if any, extra cost is demanded of the grower. Another advantage is that types may be evolved which not only yield better quality and quantity, but resist, not only the various plant diseases, but also such natural disadvantages as short seasons and the occurrence of drought. The attention which the question of "Dry-farming" is receiving in America has been noted by the Indian Government who has deputed some of its officers to study the problem.[1] The task of selection and hybridisation can, however, proceed only slowly, on account of the numerous varieties now cultivated, while the difficulties of keeping the newly evolved strains pure and free from degeneration can easily be imagined when the vast areas over which the new seed has to be distributed, and the ignorance of the peasant are kept in mind. Much valuable work in these directions has already been done in the more important crops. Thus the Howards have evolved several new types of wheat,[2] and "Pusa 12" is now ranked with Manitoba spring wheat—the best in the world,—possessing milling and baking qualities of a high order. Dr. Barber's experiments on sugarcane have yielded valuable results, "red-rot"-resisting varieties have been introduced, and attempts are being made to produce superior seedlings by hybridisation between the canes of northern and southern India, which will suit the climate and agricultural methods of North India and give a better yield. The popularity of such high-yielding varieties as "Cambodia" and "Karunganni" shows the success attained in the improvement of cotton strains. It has now been proved that India can produce long-stapled cotton of the finest quality, but the difficulties in the way of popularising it are great. The subject has received the most careful consideration at the hands of the Indian Cotton Committee,[1] who are satisfied that, given favourable conditions, the cultivation of long-stapled cotton will show a considerable increase in the course of a decade. The reason why India has remained essentially the producer of the short-stapled variety is that it suits the climate better, and also that the country's trade is for short staple. The chief consumers of Indian cotton before the war were the Indian cotton manufacturers, and then Germany and Japan; and in Germany it was used for mixing with wool, and thus served a special purpose. Secondly, short-staple cottons give a better yield, and require less trouble and expense to grow. The demand for long staple comes from Lancashire. The Indian growers were strangers to this would-be purchaser; and they were unwilling to give up a steady market and fair prices for the short staple in favour of Lancashire whose main supplier was America, and whose market, they therefore feared, might be unsteady, and who may not be willing to pay a price for the newly-grown commodity which will be sufficiently high to cover the loss in yield which must inevitably occur in changing from a short to a long staple.[2] In view of the recent rise in American cotton prices, and the general shortage of supply, there appears to be no reason to fear that Indian long-staples will not fetch their proper price ; and accordingly larger areas are coming under long-staple cultivation, especially in Sind and the Punjab, where American cotton does extremely well.

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[1] See "Dry Land-farming in the Great Plains Area," Year Book of the Dept. of Agriculture, U.S.A., 1907, pp. 451 *et seq.*

[2] See their monograph on Wheat in India.

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[1] See the Report of the Indian Cotton Committee, 1919.

[2] See "Agricultural Progress in British India," 1909-10, pp. 2-3.

A word must here be added regarding improvements in the methods of cultivation. Tillage, which according to Cato [1] forms the first and second essentials of farming, still appears in India to be in a very primitive condition, and the ordinary Indian plough—a single-tyred grubber only one stage ahead of the stake with which the savage scartches up the soil—does little more than roughly scarify the ground. But, as has been often pointed out, this is not because the ryot is ignorant of the importance of tillage. When growing valuable crops which will sufficiently compensate him for the extra trouble, he digs the field carefully with the spade; but the less valuable crops, naturally enough, do not receive the same meticulous attention. His objections to deeper tillage are based on his anxiety to retain the moisture in the soil, his unwillingness to widen the area to be manured when, as often, the stock of manure is strictly limited, while his cattle, as a rule, are not strong enough to draw a heavier or a deeper plough.[2] The question of improved tillage, therefore, revolves itself into a question of water, manure, and cattle.

(*To be continued*)

P. P. PILLAI

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[1] "*Quid out bone colare? Arare. Quimd secundum? Arare. Quid tertium? Stercorare.*" *Pe re rustica.*

[2] See Hume, "Agricultural Reform in India," p. 5. Vocleker, Report, pp. 43, 219 ; Noreland, "Agriculture of the United Province." Ch. V.

ORNITHOLOGY IN INDIA

"Birds, companions more unknown
Live beside us, but alone;
Finding not, do all they can,
Passage from their souls to man.
Kindness we bestow, and praise,
Laud their plumage, greet their lays;
Still beneath the feather'd breast,
Stirs a history unexpress'd."—*Matthew Arnold.*

In May, 1922, my friend, Mr. Cedric Dover, wrote for this magazine a most interesting article entitled "Entomology in India." In that paper Mr. Dover gave a brief account of the study of insects in this country. There is no doubt that entomology is a fascinating study and that there are many students of the subject in India; but, as one interested in ornithology, I must necessarily hold a brief for the study of birds. Of all the vertebrates, birds are the most familiar creatures. The habits and colour of a large number of species are such that they compel notice. Consequently, birds are represented by the largest number of known species in India. It is said also that birds are in many ways the most interesting vertebrates. This is, of course, a matter of opinion. Every real student thinks his own branch of study the most interesting, and loves it; for if he did not, he would be a hypocrite and one who was not a real student. Personally, I think birds are of most interest.

The habits and colour of birds are to a large extent responsible for the great number who have enlisted themselves as students of ornithology. I include, of course, song as a habit. A bird of such villainous propensities as the Common House-Crow (*Corvus splendens splendens*), although it is incapable of producing sweet sounds and lacks fine feathers, is, nevertheless, a bird we all know; the Peacock (*Pavo* *cristatus*) has become a familiar friend on account of his brilliant plumage; the Shama (*Kittocincla macroura tricolor*) is a favourite cage-bird because of its power of song. It is therefore not surprising to find that ornithology has attracted so much attention in India and elsewhere. At present we know a great deal more about birds than about some branches of zoology, *e.g.*, insects or reptiles. A vast amount of literature exists concerning birds. Years ago Blanford wrote: "There is probably no division of Indian biological science, not even Botany, on which so much has been written and of which our present knowledge is so far advanced." This statement perhaps holds good to-day, but even now there is much to be learnt. For instance, we do not know what purpose, if any, is served by those curious appendages called "casques" which are worn by the Hornbills (*Bucerotidae*). Why should not our Indian Hornbills be like the Toucans (*Rhamphastidae*) of America and have big bills without casques? We know very little of the plumage of nestlings—information which would be of help in ascertaining the affinities of different families of birds. Practically nothing is known of the roosting habits of birds in India; the economic aspect of Indian ornithology has been barely touched; and we know very little about the migration of birds in India.

Indian zoology in general has been so far studied that an official publication in several volumes has been compiled on the subject, namely, *The Fauna of British India*. Four volumes have been devoted to ornithology alone, which shows how much we know about Indian birds, especially when we consider that these volumes contain but very brief accounts of each species. For many years, *The Fauna of British India* has been standard work, and it is without doubt a most valuable production. The first two volumes on Birds were written in the years 1889 and 1890 by the late Mr. Eugene W. Oates, one of the best ornithologists then living. The third and fourth volumes, however, were written in the years 1895 and 1898 by Dr. W. T. Blanford, as Oates was unable to complete the work during his period of furlough in England. Before the publication of the Bird volumes of *The Fauna of British India* series, the best known work on Indian birds was Dr. Jerdon's *Birds of India* (1862). This work, although of such great value, did not contain information about those species of birds which are found in Sind west of the Indus, the Western Punjab, Hazara, the Upper Indus Valley north and north-west of Kashmir, Assam, Burma and the intermediate districts, Ceylon, and the Andaman and Nicobar Islands. In the introduction to the first volume of *Birds of India*, Jerdon gave an account of the principal writers on Indian birds up to the year 1862. The following are the names of these contributors: Franklin, Tickell, Sykes, McClelland, Burgess, Adams, Tytler, Kelaart, Layard, Hutton, Hodgson and Blyth. To the two last named, and to Jerdon, we owe an eternal debt of gratitude, for these three workers laid the foundation-stone of ornithology in India. Since the appearance of Jerdon's famous work some of the best contributions to Indian ornithological literature are: (1) Blyth's commentary on Jerdon in *The Ibis*, 1866-67, his list of the birds of Burma, published with additions by Viscount Walden in *The Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1875; (2) Jerdon's supplementary notes in *The Ibis*, 1871-72; (3) papers in *The Ibis* and *The Proceedings of the Zoological Society* by Viscount Walden, Wardlaw Ramsay, Biddulph, Anderson, Elwes, Beavan, Scully and Sharpe; (4) papers by Stoliczka, Godwin Austen, Brooks, Ball, King, McMaster and Blanford in *The Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*; (5) Hume's *Scrap-Book*, *Nests and Eggs of Indian Birds*, *Lahore to Yarkand* (in which he was assisted by Dr. Henderson), and *Game-Birds of India* (written in conjunction with Cols. C. H. T. and G. F. L. Marshall); (6) Legge's *Birds of Ceylon*, 1890, Oate's *Birds of Burma*, J. Anderson's *Zoological Results of the Yunnan Expeditions*, 1878, Barnes's Birds of Bombay, Murray's *Vertebrate Zoology of Sind*, 1884, and *Avifauna of British India*, 1887-90; and (7) *Stray Feathers* in eleven volumes, 1873-1899. *Stray Feathers* is the somewhat eccentric title given by Hume to a journal containing notes on Indian birds from writers in all parts of the country. The major portion of this journal was written by Hume, but he was assisted by a large body of contributors. *Stray Feathers* is a valuable contribution to the literature on Indian birds and should be familiar to all students of ornithology in this country.

Let us now consider briefly the life-histories of some of the earlier Indian ornithologists.

Brian Houghton Hodgson was born in the year 1800. He joined the Civil Service and arrived in India in 1818. Two years later he was appointed Assistant Resident in Nepal, becoming Resident in 1833, and holding that post till 1844. During the first Afghan War Hodgson succeeded in keeping Nepal quiet, but he was hastily removed by Lord Ellenborough, and this caused Hodgson to resign the service. Hodgson's labours in Nepal are wellknown, and for much of the knowledge of the ornithology of that part of the country, and of Indian ornithology in general, we owe him a great debt of gratitude.

Another early Indian ornithologist of great fame is Edward Blyth, who was born in 1810. Blyth made natural history the absorbing study of his life. From his earliest days he studied the subject, and in 1841 he was appointed Curator of the Museum of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, on a small salary. He retired from this post in the year 1862, after having contributed a large number of reports and papers to almost every number of the Society's journal during the time he was working there. He also wrote to the newspapers and to the *Calcutta Review*.[1] Blyth's work was highly estimated

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[1] This present *Calcutta Review* is in continuation.

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by Darwin, and Blyth is said to have been the founder of zoology in India. He died in the year 1873. The following is an extract from Hume's obituary notice in *Stray Feathers*, Volume II :—

"It is impossible to over-rate the extent and importance of Blyth's many-sided labours. Starting in life without one single advantage, by sheer strength of will, ability, and industry, he achieved, and deservedly so, a reputation rarely surpassed, and better still did an amount of sterling work such as no labourer in this field has ever encompassed.

"Unshaken in his devotion to science, he toiled on, unrewarded, unappreciated, by men whom circumstances, not merit, placed above him as superiors, on a pittance barely sufficient to procure here the necessaries of life. Known in those days as one of the clearest-headed men in Calcutta, repeated efforts were made to induce him to devote his energies to business, and paths to what, at that time, was certain wealth were freely opened to him. But neither neglect nor harshness could drive, nor wealth, nor worldly advantages tempt him from what he deemed the nobler path. Ill paid, and subjected as he was to ceaseless humiliations, he felt that the position he held gave him opportunities for that work which was his mission, such as no other then could, and he clung to it with a single-hearted and unselfish constancy nothing short of heroic."

As far as their influence on the study of Indian ornithology is concerned, Jerdon and Hume stand in a class by themselves.

Thomas Claverhill Jerdon was born in the year 1811. He joined the medical service in Madras in 1835, working in that service till 1864, when he retired. Although a doctor by profession, Jerdon is better known as a zoologist. His most famous works on Indian zoology are his *Illustrations of Indian Ornithology*, 1844, *Birds of India*, 1862-4, and *Mammals of India*, 1867. His first two publications were standard works on ornithology for many years, and even now they are frequently consulted. Prior to the publication of *Birds of India* no account of Indian birds was available. Therefore, Jerdon's work marked an epoch in the history of Indian ornithology.

Allan Octavian Hume was born in 1829. He entered the Bengal Civil Service in 1849, and after serving in various capacities, he became Secretary to the Government of India in the Department of Revenue and Agriculture. He appears to have been a man of peculiar temperament. For years he criticised the actions of Government, and he was a prominent organiser and supporter of the National Congress. Ornithology became a mania with him, and many curious stories are told of his devotion to the study of birds, which was stronger than his devotion to legitimate official duties! Hume is well-known among ornithologists on account of his many works on Indian birds and his vast collection of skins, nests and eggs. Being a man of exceptional ability and brain-power he was not free from that eccentricity which sometimes accompanies genius. Mr. Edward J. Buck, in his *Simla Past and Present*, gives a very interesting account of Hume, in the course of which he says :—

"Mr. Hume was essentially a man of hobbies, and whatever hobby he took up was ridden well and hard. At the time he was brought to Simla the special subject to which he had been devoting his energies was that of ornithology. Possessed of ample private means, he had in his employ an army of collectors, some of them Europeans working on liberal salaries even beyond the limits of India proper, while many private collectors, falling under the influence of Mr. Hume's genius, gave him strenuous assistance in all parts of the Indian Empire. Many birds new to science were discovered by himself or by his agents. The specimens were all brought to "Rothney Castle"[1] and arranged there in classified order in cabinets which lined the walls of the room utilized as a museum. The collections were rapidly augmenting when suddenly Mr. Hume mounted another hobby. This time it was Theosophy! And one of the tenets of that creed being to take no life, telegrams were sent to the collectors to stop work and shoot no more birds, while at the same time an offer was made to the authorities of the British Museum to present the entire collection to that institution on condition that they would send out an expert to overhaul the specimens at 'Rothney Castle.' The offer was naturally accepted; Mr. Sharpe, one of the staff, was sent to Simla and the collection removed to the British, and then the South Kensington Museum, where it forms one of the most valuable assets.

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[1] "Rothney Castle" is one of the largest buildings in Simla. It is situated on Jakko Hill. In Hume's time the building was perhaps the largest in Simla.

"Mr. Hume was undoubtedly led to the worship of Theosophy by the High Priestess of that cult, Madame Blavatzky, at whose disposal the hospitality of 'Rothney Castle' was always placed."

William Thomas Blanford was born in 1832. He served in the Geological Survey of India from 1855-1882, and earned a great reputation as a geologist. He published valuable works on the geology and zoology of Abyssinia and Persia. He is known also as a famous zoologist, for he was the Editor of *The Fauna of British India* series, and was the author of the volumes dealing with the *Mammalia*, 1888-1891, and of two of the volumes on Birds.

Next we come to Eugene William Oates. He was born in the year 1845, and was an officer in the Public Works Department in Burma for 32 years, from 1867-1899, and reached a high position in that service. Oates will always be remembered by those who are students of Indian ornithology, for not only did Oates add materially to our knowledge of the birds of this country, but he was also a capable man with a facile pen. His first well known work was *A Handbook of the Birds of British Burma*. His other works include an edition of

Hume's Nests and Eggs of Indian Birds, a *Manual of the Game Birds of India*, the first and second volumes of the *Catalogue of the Collections of Birds' Eggs in the British Museum*, and the third and fourth volumes of the same work in which he was joint author with Captain Savile and Mr. G. Reid. He wrote also the first two volumes on Birds in *The Fauna of British India*. Oates was a careful and accurate field-observer as well. He accumulated a fine collection of Burmese birds and eggs which now forms part of the National Collection. His last years were devoted to the study of the Kalij and Silver Pheasants, and his collection of these birds is another valuable acquisition to the British Museum. There is an amusing story about Oates and the second volume of Birds in *The Fauna of British India*. In this volume, on page 290, we find that the Streak-eyed Wagtail is stated to have a note which has been described as "a prolonged Pooh." This startling statement has often baffled Indian ornithologists, as no wagtail emits a note which sounds anything like "Pooh"! The explanation of this remarkable statement is known to few. These are the facts. Oates was in the midst of his MS., which was lying on a table in the Natural History Museum in England, when Mr. Ogilvie Grant and Dr. Sharpe, who were passing by on their way to lunch, saw it. Dr. Sharpe wished to play a practical joke, so he said, "Let us add something funny to Oates' description of this wagtail," and accordingly he made the streak-eyed wagtail utter an impossible note—a mistake which was not detected and which therefore appeared when the book was finally printed!

In *Stray Feathers* and *Nests and Eggs of Indian Birds*, many ornithologists are mentioned. Although they did not establish reputations such as those held by Hodgson, Blyth, Jerdon, Hume, Blanford or Oates, yet those workers contributed much to our knowledge of Indian birds. They were scattered over different parts of India and were able to furnish much information relating to their districts. The statement below gives the names of a few of these ornithologists and the places about which they wrote.

Davison ...	Andaman and Nicobar Islands.
Legge and Parker ...	Ceylon.
Bourdillon ...	Travancore.
Miss Cockburn ...	Nilgiris.
Col. Butler ...	Belgaum.
Davidson & Wenden ...	Deccan.
Doig	Sind.
Major Bingham ...	Delhi and Allahabad.
Reid	United Provinces.
Capt. Hutton ...	Dehra Dun.
Thompson	Kumaon and Central Provinces.
Littledale	Baroda.
Gammie and Mandelli ...	Sikkim.
Cripps	Bengal and Assam.
Wardlaw Ramsay ...	Afghanistan and Burma.

Notwithstanding all these contributions, and the work done by so many in days gone by, the efforts of modern ornithologists in India have still further advanced our knowledge of birds. A large mass of ornithological literature lies scattered about in such publications as *The Ibis*, *The Bulletin of the Ornithologist's Club*, *The Journal of the Bombay Natural History Society*, *The Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, *The Avicultural Magazine*, etc. At the present day the foremost society for the study of ornithology in India is the Bombay Natural History Society. Since the foundation of this society in the year 1883, the study of all branches of Indian zoology has, to a greater or lesser extent, been stimulated. Without doubt our knowledge of birds has increased to a very appreciable extent. The growing popularity of the Bombay Natural History Society is shown from the fact that in 1883 it originally consisted of eight residents of Bombay, whereas there are now about 1,500 members. This is the only society of its kind in India and its quarterly Journal "is recognised to-day as the best periodical in India for the publication of short notes on Natural History, and for papers both scientific and popular on subjects likely to be of interest to the amateur naturalist and sportsman. Even to those who are professional scientists it is of great value." Short notes on the habits and distribution of birds have been contributed to the Society's journal by writers in various districts, a large number of lists have been compiled of birds found in particular localities, and long papers on Indian birds have been written. These contributions have consequently resulted in our greater knowledge of the birds of this country within recent years.

Among modern Indian ornithologists the most noteworthy is Mr. E. C. Stuart Baker. Mr. Stuart Baker was a Government official in India for many years and he has therefore been able to help with first-hand knowledge of birds which he has seen and studied for years. Hume and Marshall's *Game-Birds* was for a very long time the leading work on the subject. This valuable work is now being replaced by a still superior work by Mr. Stuart Baker entitled *The Game Birds of India, Burma and Ceylon.* It will consist of four volumes, dealing separately with Indian Ducks and their Allies; Snipe, Bustards and Sand-Grouse; Partridges; and Pheasants. The first two volumes have already been published, and before long Indian ornithologists and sportsmen will be able to purchase the two remaining volumes. Like Hume and Marshall's work, however, Stuart Baker's volumes on Game Birds are very expensive. This cannot be helped on account of the numerous coloured plates which have increased the cost of production, which, in turn, must be met by a correspondingly high sale-price. But Stuart Baker's fame as an Indian ornithologist was established before he wrote *Game-Birds.* His valuable contributions to *The Journal of the Bombay Natural History* (and other publications), such as his paper on the Birds of the Cachar District, have advanced the study of bird-life in India to no little extent. Another well-known authority on Indian birds, especially on waterfowl, is Mr. Frank Finn, who was at one time Deputy Superintendent of the Indian Museum at Calcutta. Finn has written several books, such as *The Game Birds of India and Asia*, *The Waterfowl of India and Asia*, *Indian Sporting Birds*, *How to Know the Indian Waders*, *Garden and Aviary Birds*, *The Birds of Calcutta* and *Ornithological and Other Oddities*. Finn's books have been expressly written for the use of the layman who is interested in ornithology, and I can recommend all these books to those who would like to know the habits of our feathered friends. As a contemporary of Finn we have another writer of "popular" books on Indian ornithology. I refer to Mr. Douglas Dewar, I.C.S., who has written several most interesting books, for instance, *Indian Birds*, *Glimpses of Indian Birds*, *A Bird Calendar for Northern India*, *Birds of the Plains*, *Birds of the Indian Hills*. I may mention a most fascinating book, written jointly by Messrs. Finn and Dewar, entitled *The Making of Species*. There are many interesting topics on Indian birds dealt with in this book. The name of the late Mr. E. H. Aitken will live for generations on account of his brilliant and amusing books. There are but four, but who has been able to write such books since? I strongly advise all who have not yet had the pleasure of doing so to read these four books: *The Tribes on My Frontier*, *Behind the Bungalow*, *A Naturalist on the Prowl*, and *The Birds of Bombay*. *Behind the Bangalow*, does not deal with Natural History, but I have mentioned this book for the sake of completeness.

Blanford in his Preface to the first volume on Birds in *The Fauna of British India* series wrote: "Hitherto the progress of Indian ornithology may be divided into two periods: the first of which, ending with the publication of

Jerdon's work, was specially signalized by the labours of Hodgson and Blyth, whilst in the more recent period the dominant figure has been Mr. Hume." From our present knowledge of the subject we are now in a position to mark two more periods, namely, the period of Blanford and Oates, and the present time, with Mr. Stuart Baker as the leading Indian ornithologist. But the two greatest Indian ornithologists are Jerdon and Hume. Great as has been our advancement in the study of birds, the vast amount of information collected by these two men remain inexhaustible mines. No one, not even Mr. Stuart Baker, can write about Indian birds without having to fall back on Jerdon or Hume or both for some information. In the old days such workers as Hodgson and the Marquis of Tweeddale (Viscount Walden, already referred to) made good collections of bird-skins, etc., but Hume's energies were so great that it is said that his collection of bird-skins, nests and eggs is far superior to any that has ever been made from a similar area and in a similar period. Some idea of this grand collection, which is now in the British Museum, may be gained when it is stated that Hume presented the Museum with about 60,000 skins, in addition to a very large number of nests and eggs. The Hume Collection was made in about ten years' time, from 1872 to 1882.

Before leaving the work done by Indian ornithologists we should consider the crowning achievement of Mr. Stuart Baker. Not long ago official sanction was accorded to the publication of a second edition of the Bird volumes of the *The Fauna of British India*, and Stuart Baker was selected as the best man for this task. Students of bird-life are delighted at the selection made. The first volume of the second edition has just been published. It is proposed that a volume should be brought out every two years until the Bird volumes have been completed, on the understanding that sufficient funds are available for this purpose. It is to be hoped that enough money will be forthcoming, because once the second edition is completed we ought to have an almost up-to-date authoritative work on the birds of India. Besides taking into consideration the fact that the second edition of the Bird volumes of *The Fauna of British India* will contain fairly up-to-date information, other improvements have also been made. I cannot attempt a review of the first volume, but some points deserve mention. To begin with the scientific nomenclature has been revised in the light of recent investigations and the trinomial system has been employed. I shall not go into the reasons why the trinomial system has been used, but suffice it to say that it has great advantages over the old system which consisted of a generic and a specific name. One *disadvantage* of the trinominal system is that if it is not properly employed there is a tendency to create new sub-species on insufficient data—a pitfall which it is most difficult to avoid at times. Another improvement in the new edition of the Bird volumes is the fuller information given on the nidification and general habits of birds, which are of much value to the observer in the field. The addition of coloured plates, painted by Stuart Baker himself, also enhance the value of the new edition.

It will thus be seen that the popularity of ornithology, as evinced by the number of workers on the subject and the amount of literature that has been published thereon, is quite obvious. We have seen that there appear to be two main schools of Indian ornithologists. The one studies bird-life from a scientific point of view, that is to say, the workers of this school publish information mainly for the use of the scientist and advanced student, they make large collections of skins, nests and eggs, which usually find resting-places in museums. To this school belong Hodgson, Blyth, Hume, Blanford, Oates and Stuart Baker. The other school is what may be termed the "Popular School," and those who belong to it make observations and publish literature primarily for the sake of interesting the layman. The fact that "popular" books on birds have a better market value among the general public than scientific works has perhaps been largely responsible for the establishment of this school. The leader of the present popular school of Indian ornithology is Mr. Douglas Dewar. There is no question but that his books are full of interest, and he shows in each page the result of his own personal observations which are of no mean order. Be that as it may, there are two features in Dewar's books which somewhat detract from their value. One is the very antagonistic attitude adopted towards the cabinet ornithologist and systematist. Dewar is always poking fun at scientific nomenclature, for instance, he refuses to march with the times, preferring rather to follow the older scientific names and classification. The other feature which mars his books is his patent superficiality in describing the habits of some birds. Take, for instance, his chapter on the Black and Yellow Grosbeak (*Perissospiza icteroides icteroides*) in *Birds of the Indian Hills*. We are told hardly anything about the habits of this remarkable finch, most of the chapter being devoted to a comparison between the resemblance in outward appearance of the Black and Yellow and Grosbeak and the Indian Black-headed Oriole (*Oriolus luteolus luteolus*). There are some who think that Dewar would have done better had he devoted his attention to the study of birds from a purely cut-and-dried scientific aspect. Mr. Frank Finn has also done much to encourage the layman in the study of Indian bird life, as has been mentioned already. Finn's books are also of value to the aviculturist, and there are many who are fond of keeping birds in captivity. The inimitable EHA was also a popular writer on Indian birds, and the extraordinary manner in which he was able to pick on some peculiar characteristic of a bird, and by this characteristic alone help the man in the street to recognise the bird, is a gift which EHA alone possesses. It is due to writers like EHA, Finn and Dewar that the ordinary individual, who has a liking for birds and a tendency for the study of natural history, becomes a student of ornithology. He, who is not a professional scientist or an amateur not obsessed with a mania for ornithology, does not like to study ornithology from technical books. He likes birds and observes their characteristics, and has perhaps gained much first-hand knowledge by observing birds in their wild state and in a state of captivity. If a book written by any of the popular writers was put into the hands of such a man, the probability is that he would soon interest himself in birds to a greater extent than he had done before, for the simple reason that he understands what he is reading. On the other hand, if such a man was given a technical book, and by a reference to this work tried to identify a bird from difficult scientific keys and dull colourless descriptions, the chances are that he would not be able to find the bird he was looking for, and what is more, he would perhaps throw the book aside, and continue calling, let us say, a Treepie a "Long-tailed Jay." Not long ago I had a personal experience of a typical case of this nature. The incident took place at Delhi, where a sportsman who was a beginner one day shot a duck. On previous occasions he had shot game birds which he could not identify, and he therefore thought that he would invest in "a good book" on game birds. He did not want to spend very much on the purchase of the book and therefore did not buy Hume and Marshall's *Game Birds* or Stuart Baker's *Indian Ducks and their Allies.* Instead he consulted a bookseller's catalogue and eventually bought a copy of Le Mesurier's *Game, Shore and Water Birds.* Now, in buying this book he made a great mistake, for this was not at all the kind of book he wanted. However, he bought Le Mesurier's *Game, Shore and Water Birds,* and with the aid of this book he set to work to identify the duck he had shot. After a great deal of fruitless search he gave up the task and came to me for advice. As it turned out the duck he had bagged was a very common species, although it was unfamiliar to the person who had shot it, and an oral description was enough to enable me to guess that the bird was a male Wigeon (*Mareca penelope*), which identification I found was correct when I saw the dead bird. My friend complained that the book did not help him, and it was no wonder. I showed him a copy of Finn's *Water-fowl of India and Asia*, in which a good description of the colour and habits of this duck is given. Finn's popular little book cost much less than the other book and also contained the information required. I am glad to say that this unfortunate sportsman bought Finn's book, and what is more, he can now follow better the descriptions given in technical works. Except the individual who has made science his profession or the advanced amateur naturalist, long scientific names frighten people ! To most average sportsmen in India "*Anas pœcilorhyncha pœcilorhyncha*" conveys no meaning, but they know at once what is meant if they see the words "The Spotted-billed Duck,"—a bird which they know is worth shooting and eating. I have heard it said that Latin names are used to drive off the man in the street, and to keep a particular branch of natural history a sort of preserve for the delectation of the professional man and the advanced amateur who is persevering and painstaking enough to master these Latin names! So the popular book is, I maintain, of use, in so far that it is the means of turning those with a tendency towards the study of birds into men who will soon know more of bird-life, and perhaps, into ornithologists of real repute. Popular books are often the stepping-stones that lead one to understand technical works.

There are many hundreds of species of birds in India, Burma and Ceylon, and wherever we may happen to be living, certain birds force themselves on our attention. Even in our garden and in the immediate precincts of the bungalow many kinds of birds are to be seen daily which we cannot help but notice. The crow, the kite, the sparrow and the myna, are, like the poor, always with us; the hoopoes and doves walk daintily on the green lawn; the tailor-birds and other warblers frequent the bushes in the garden and gladden our hearts with their song; the oriole's fluty voice is heard in the mango-tope; the "Seven Sisters" murmur and chatter and shout throughout the day; that nasty little hawk, the shikra, dashes after a small bird in full view of us all; the king-crow watches, and soon after he imitates the dreaded, disyllabic note of the hawk, laughing to himself as he sees the other birds instantly darting for the nearest cover; the dhyal and the shama, hanging in their cages, pour forth pleasing lays; out in the fields the green paroquets destroy the crops and distract the *raiyat;* the red-wattled lapwing runs along the ploughed ground, and flying off on black and white pinions, shouts "Did you do it?"; the swift teal dashes down on to the *jheel*; the pond-heron suddenly appears from nowhere from the side of a shady pool; the ventriloquial hoot of a crow-pheasant resounds from the depths of some tangled undergrowth; and the owls and nightjars break the stillness of the night with their weird calls. These birds, which we all know, are but small portion of the avifauna of India. Bird-watching is one of the most enjoyable pastimes that can be imagined. It has also the advantage that it combines pleasure with study in a most inexplicable and unavoidable manner. There is always something to be learnt by watching our feathered friends. For example, our ignorance as to the roosting habits of birds is abysmal. We see scores of birds of various species during the day, but as soon as darkness falls all these birds disappear mysteriously. Where do they go, and how do they roost?

We cannot watch birds without learning something of their nesting habits. We see a great diversity in the kinds of nests built, the materials of which these are constructed, and the sites selected for their construction. We find that some birds do not make any nest at all, but simply lay their eggs on the bare ground, *e. g.*, the plovers and terns; some, like the barbets and wood-peckers, lay their eggs in holes made in trees; others construct elaborate nests, like the tailor-bird and the weaver-bird; swallows make retort-shaped nests entirely of mud; the common swift makes a saucer-shaped nest of feathers glued together by a salivary secretion; the vultures make large platforms on high trees; and the dabchick constructs a floating nest on the water. We find a great variation in the size, colour and shape of the eggs laid by Indian birds. We have the huge egg of the lämmergeyer of the hills and the tiny eggs of the munia of the plains; the white eggs of the owl and the beautiful eggs of the Indian wren-warbler; the ordinary oval-shaped eggs, the "polished alabaster balls" laid by the bee-eaters, the pegtop-shaped eggs laid by the jaçanas, and the curious blunted eggs of the sand-grouse. The best known work on Indian öology is Hume's *Nests and Eggs of Indian Birds*, edited by Oates. Although written many years ago it contains splendid accounts of the nidification of a large number of birds, and the information would have been more complete had it not been that Hume's servant one day broke into his master's museum and sold as waste paper a considerable number of notes! *Birds' Nesting in India* by Col. G. F. L. Marshall (1877) is another useful book, as it contains much information put together in a concise form. But the most up-to-date information will be found in the new edition of the Bird volumes of *The Fauna of British India.*

The eggs of birds are of use in establishing the affinities of one family with another, as we see that the rollers, bee-eaters and kingfishers all lay similar eggs and are related. More attention is now being paid to the plumage of nestlings; skins of nestlings and young birds "are still desiderata in the British Museum and other institutions." A recent appeal has been made in *The Journal of the Bombay Natural History Society* for the skins of nestlings, and it is to be hoped that members of the society will respond willingly and so help in accumulating data which will elucidate many knotty problems in regard to placing various Indian birds in a systematic order showing their relationship. It is said that no branch of ornithology has remained so long neglected, nor is there one in which the solution of so many problems is awaited. There is, consequently, hardly any literature on the subject, and the little we have lies scattered about in scientific publications which are not accessible to the average individual. Those who are interested in the subject are referred to an excellent paper entitled "A Contribution to the Study of Nestling Birds" by Collingwood Ingram in *The Ibis.* Though brief, this paper contains a great deal of valuable information, and serves as an introduction to the fascinating study of the plumage of nestling birds. As Mr. Collingwood Ingram himself says, his paper is "offered chiefly with the idea of stimulating further research."

The keeping of birds in captivity is nothing new. In India there are numbers of birds of various species which are kept as pets. Everyone in India has seen the Common Ringed-necked Paroquet (*Psittacula torquata*), or Green Parrot as it is usually called, as a captive. Numbers of young parrots are sold in the bazaars, huddled together in big baskets. Dhyals, shamas and bulbuls are well-known cage-birds in this country, and so also are partridges and quails. A visit to Tiretta Bazaar in Calcutta will show that there is a prolific trade in captive birds. From personal experience I know that there is a class of professional bird-catchers in Calcutta, as there is also a class who sell as a profession insects and other food for cage-birds. I have spent many a happy day in the outskirts of the city in the company of an old bird-catcher with his jointed bamboo rods, his *lhasa* [1] and his gunny bag wherein he stores his captures. Many years ago there was in Entally a famous dealer in wild animals of all kinds. This gentleman, the late Mr. Rutledge, often had some rare and beautiful birds in his private zoo. Mr. E. W. Harper is another well-known dealer. He has been responsible for sending to the London Zoo some most interesting specimens of birds. There are also others who take a keen interest in aviculture, and among these I may mention my friend, Mr. Satya Churn Law of Calcutta, who has a very fine collection of captive birds of various kinds in his aviaries. For the paragraphs which follow on aviculture in India, I am indebted to Mr. Law for having so willingly supplied me with information on this branch of ornithology, of which he has a splendid knowledge, both theoretical and practical.

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[1] Bird-lime.

(*To be continued*)

S. Basil-Edwardes

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF JINALOGY AND BUDDHALOGY[1]

The *Carita-śāstra* or Biographical Science is a strange development in Indian religions. The advents of Great Men or National Heroes can be shown to follow a definite causal order or law of nature called *utpāda-dharmatā* by the Buddhists. These advents are not surely chance-happenings. The inductive method of science is applicable to the study of the lives of Great Men—*Mahāpuruṣas* or *Mahātmās.* My friend Dr. Hemchandra Raychaudhuri complains that India had not a Thucydides to prepare a sober record of the facts of history. But he might surely have consolation from the fact that the want of a Thucydides was amply recompensed in India by the gigantic attempts to construct a Science of what Huxley would call Universal History. Every Purāṇa is a statement and an illustration of this science. The Science of Biography is both an integral part of the Purāṇa and an independent evolution. Both are interconnected. The former differs from the latter by the fact that it is fundamentally based upon the study of world-events in term of the personality of men. The Brahmanist has his own peculiar conception of the uniform process of evolution and involution of the cosmos, the rotation of the cosmical eras and the advents of Manus and seven or more Ṛṣis during the successive *Manvantaras.* This may be distinguished as the Ṛṣilogy of the Brahmanist. The Jaina has similarly built up a *Jinakalpa* or Jinalogy accounting scientifically for the successive advents of the Jinas or Tīrthaṅkaras. The Buddhist has catered for his Buddhalogy or *Buddhôtpāda-Dharmatā,* designed to establish even the physical identity of the Buddhas, past, present and future. The Bhāgavatist, too, has carried the world before him by his *Avatāra-vāda* or Doctrine of Incarnation. As a matter of fact, every Hindu is a Bhāgavatist or Deist-Docetist, the Brahmanist advocating *Brahma-Bhāgavatism*, the Jaina the *Jiṅa-Bhāgavatism*, the Buddhist the *Buddha-Bhāgavatism*, the Vaiṣṇava the *Viṣṇu-Bhāgavatism*, the Śaiva the *Śiva-Bhāgavatism* and the Śākta the *Śakti-Bhāgavatism*. They are all Hindus indeed. The strangeness of the Hindu *Carita-śāstra* is that in each case theory takes precedence of fact. It enunciates the principles first and manipulates facts afterwards. In the name of truth it has duped the whole humanity of the Gangetic Valley. In the name of logical consistency it has adumbrated the most absurd formalism and sophistry. If the mother of one Buddha happened to die on the seventh day of his birth, it follows that invariably the mothers of all previous Buddhas must have died on the seventh day of their birth, and the mother of the future Buddha, too, will die similarly on the seventh day. The vagary of it needs no comment. Fiction has supplemented fact, and both in their chemical combination have passed for gospel truth. The wisdom of it is that it leads us to look upon each powerful movement as a replica of a previous one. The foolery of it is that it mistakes uniformity for identity, and utterly ignores the fact that each movement is a unique product as well as a complex of all that has gone before. The beauty of it is that it has taught thirty crores of people to wistfully look at the *kadamba* tree for the mysterious appearance of a *Puruṣa*. The wonder of it is that it yet reigns supreme in this holy land of ours. In 1917 I met in London an Indian friend who was a professed Vedāntin. I wanted to know from him who was the earlier of the two teachers—Śaṅkara or Rāmānuja. He replied: Dualism precedes Monism, Rāmānuja was a Dualist and Śaṅkara a Monist, therefore Rāmānuja was and could not but be the earlier teacher. His reply was typical of those of the Indian Sanskritists innocent of the modern method of research. History does not follow the canon of logic. Our *Itihāsas* are not sober history. The lack of historical sense, the thinking by similes, the highest wisdom in establishing analogy and finding out analogues are yet the traits of our countrymen. The people of this country, even those who are educated, have yet a mistaken idea of the true aim of research. The true researcher destroys in order to create, undervalues in order to show the true way of valuation. The Jainas have written several books giving accounts of 24 Tīrthaṅkaras, all in illustration of their pet theory—the *Jinakalpa*. The Buddhists—too, can boast of many works giving accounts of Buddhas past, present and future, in illustration of their doctrine of *Buddhőtpāda-Dharmatā*. Both are constructed systems, and the illustrations are interwoven of fact and fiction. The discrepancy of the accounts raises a doubt and calls for an investigation. Is there any historical background of the Jaina accounts of the Tīrthaṅkaras and of the Buddhist accounts of the Buddhas ? If there be any, what is it ? This is the question which I propose to answer in this paper. For convenience sake, I will take up Jinalogy and Buddhalogy one after another.

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[1] *Read in 1918 at a meeting of the Social and Religious History Section of the Oriental Conference, held in Calcutta.*

I. First to take up Jinalogy : The Bhagavatī-Sūtra or Vyākhyā-Prajñapti is an important and authoritative work of the Jaina Canon. In this work we read that the Jainas and the Ājīvikas admitted a common background of their respective faiths. They believed that altogether twenty-four Jinas or Tīrthaṅkaras flourished during the present *Avasarpiṇī* or Retrogressive era. The point of difference between them was that the Jainas recognised Mahāvīra as their last Tīrthaṅkara, while the Ājīvikas ignored Mahāvīra and took Gośāla to be the *carama* in their list. The 24 Tīrthaṅkaras of the Jaina list are—*Ādinātha* or *Ṛṣabhadeva*, *Ajitanātha*, *Sambhavanātha*, *Abhinandana*, *Sumatinātha*, *Padmaprabha*, *Supārśvanātha*, *Candraprabha*, *Suvidhinātha* or *Puṣpadanta*, *Śītalanātha*, *Śreyāṃśanātha*, *Vasupūjya*, *Vimalanātha*, *Anantanātha* or *Anantajit*, *Dharmanātha*, *Śāntinātha*, *Kunthunātha*, *Aranātha*, *Mallinātha*, *Munisuvrata*, *Naminātha* or *Nimi*, *Nemiṇātha* or *Ariṣṭanemi*, *Pārśvanātha* and *Mahāvīra*.

It appears that Jinalogy was the creation of a later age when Jainism had to be popularised on grounds of its antiquity and originality. Some of the details supplied of the Tīrthaṅkaras, notably those regarding the height, posture, complexion, symbol, Bodhi-tree and attendant spirits of each, are useful, as Burgess points out,[1] for the explanation of Jaina Iconography. The Tīrthaṅkaras are separated from each other by long intervals of time becoming, no less than their heights and durations of life, shorter and shorter, consistently with the Jaina conception of the decadent or retrogressive era. The interval of 220 years separating Pārśvanātha's Nirvāṇa from Mahāvīra's Jinahood is the irreducible minimum. It is again Pārśvanātha's duration of life covering a hundred years which is considered to be the longest for mankind in the Vedic hymns and throughout Indian literature. The designation *Nātha* or Lord adorns 19 names. None of the Tīrthaṅkaras is said to have been a member of the Brahman caste. All of them were Kṣātriyas in the sense that they were princes or *rajkumārs*, 22 belonging to the *Ikṣvāku* family and just two to the *Harivaṃśa* which is no other than the race of the *Andhaka-Vṛṣnis* to which Kṛṣṇa, the greatest Hindu Avatāra, belonged. The absence of the Brahmans from the list can be explained, like the fantastic legend in the Ācārāṁga and the Kalpa-Sūtra about the mysterious transference of the fœtus from the womb of a Brahman woman to that of a Kṣatriya lady as a signal proof of the Jaina contempt of the Brahmans as a class. The Tīrthaṅkaras were all male according to the Digambara tradition, while with the Śvetâmbaras one of them was a female—a princess. But all of them renounced the world to consecrate their life to religious practices. That is to say, they all became ascetics who obtained enlightenment under different Bodhi-trees and all were founders of religious orders of the Jaina type. The Bodhi-trees comprise *vaṭa*, *śāla*, *priyaṅgu*, *chattra*, *śyāma*, *śālī*, *tanduka* (*tinduka*), *paṭala*, *jambu*, *aśoka*, *nandi*, *bhilaka* (*vilva ?*), *āmra*, *campaka*, *bakula*, *vetasa* and *dhātaki*. Twenty-one out of twenty-four Tirthaṅkaras are said to have attained *Nirvāṇa* in a standing posture and three sitting cross-legged. Twenty-one attained *Nirvāṇa* (died, in vulgar parlance), on *Mt. Sametaśikhara*, now known as the *Pārśvanāth* or *Paresnāth Hill* ; one died on *Mt. Aṣṭapada* identified with *Śatruñjaya* in Gujrat ; one on *Mt. Girnar*, one in *Campā*, and one in *Pāvāpuri*. Four of them were born in *Ayodhyā*, one at *Ratnapurī* near *Ayodhyā*, one in *Śrāvastī*, one at *Vinītanagarī* in *Kosala*, one in *Kauśāmbī*, two in Benares, one at *Candrāpura*, one at *Sauryapura* near Girnar, one at *Kākandī*, one at *Bhadilapura*, one at *Kāmpilyapura*, two in *Gajapura* or *Hastināpura*, two in *Mathurā*, one in *Rājagṛha* and one at *Sṃhapura* in Benares and one at *Kuṇḍagrāma* in Vaiśālī. The places were all situated within that portion of Jambudvīpa called *Bhāratakhaṇḍa* or *Bhāratakṣetra*. Ṛṣabha is the first Tīrthaṅkara of the present era. One Ṛṣabha appears among the Vedic Ṛṣis or priest-poets of the family of Viśvāmitra, the pre-historic *Kṣatriya* rival of Ṛṣi Vāsiṣṭha, the most illustrious of the ancient Brahman priest-poets. The Jaina legends about Ṛṣabha go to assign to him a position neither of a *hero eponymos* like Manu nor of an ordinary priest-poet like Ṛṣabha, but a combination of the two.

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[1] Burgess' outline of Jaina Mythology in Bühler's 'Indian Sect of the Jainas,' p. 61 foll.

One of the Tīrthaṅkaras, *viz.*, Ariṣṭanemi was a member of the *Harivaṃśa* and closely related to Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa. The last Tīrthaṅkara Mahāvīra was an elder contemporary of the Buddha. The remaining names cannot be traced in the Brahmanical and Buddhist texts. These with the exception of Pārśvanātha are apparently fictitious. Some of them may have remote historical associations that are now difficult to make out and settle beyond dispute.

How far fiction has served to supplement history and multiply the number of Tīrthaṅkaras might be shown from the account in the Kalpa-Sūtra and other older works of the Jaina Āpama, older, at least in the sense, that they represent an earlier stage of Jainism. The Kalpa-Sūtra, as we now have it, is divided into three parts, *viz.* :—

(1) *Jinakalpa,* setting forth the general conditions of the advent of the Jinas with their environments, characteristics and other details, illustrating the Jinalogy thus developed by an account of the life of the Tīrthaṅkaras ;

(2) *Sthavirakalpa,* the list of Sthaviras, being an account of apostolic and pontificial succession in the Jaina church from Mahāvīra, its founder and Sudharman, a Gaṇadhara and chief disciple who survived the master, to the Venerable Devardhi in whose time the Jaina Canon is said to have been committed to writing (454 or 467 A.D.);

(3) *Yatikalpa,* embodying the rules of conduct and an account of religious observances which were in vogue since the foundation of the order for the guidance of the Jaina community of recluses and householders during the *Pajjusāṇa* festival that usually took place a month and twenty nights after the commencement of the rainy season.

Although the Kalpa-Sūtra is ascribed by tradition to Bhadrabāhu who flourished during the reign of Chandragupta Maurya, *i.e.,* in the 4th century B. C., the book in its present form must be referred to the Gupta period for the simple reason that its second part, the list of Sthaviras, consisting of four or five distinct strata, closes with the praise of Devardhi, but the list itself closes with the name of Sandila,[1] identified by Jacobi with Skaṇḍila, who presided over the Council, convened in Mathurā, perhaps in opposition to the Valabhi Council of which Devardhi was the President. If the date of the work in its present form be so late as the 5th century A. D., the tradition ascribing its authorship to Bhadrabāhu cannot be explained otherwise than by supposing that it had passed through several stages of growth before it received its final shape. In the opinion of Weber,[1] the stages were no less than three. He holds that the *Yatikalpa* alone was the work of Bhadrabāhu; that the *Jinakalpa* was added subsequently to the *Yatikalpa* and the *Sthavirakalpa* was probably added by Devardhi, the editor of the Jaina Canon. Prof. Jacobi, who was the first to point out that the *Yatikalpa* was the work of Bhadrabāhu,[2] entertains doubt as to the correctness of Weber's suggestion that Devardhi was also the author of the life of Mahāvīra incorporated in the *Jinakalpa.*[3] He contends, "If it were the work of so well known a man, tradition would certainly not have allowed such a fact to become forgotten. It was different thing with the List of *Sthaviras,* which consists of four or five distinct treatises only put together and added to the Lives of the *Jinas* by the editor of the work. We cannot argue from the style of the Lives of the *Jinas* that that part must be younger than the Rules for the *Yatis*; for the same difference of style occasioned by the diversity of the matter exists between the third kula of the Ācārāṅga-Sūtra and the two preceding ones. Nor can the meagreness of the contents be adduced as an argument against the antiquity of the Lives of the *Jinas,* since they were probably not intended for biographical treatises, but served a liturgical purpose; for when the images of the *Tīrthaṅkaras* are worshipped in the temples they are addressed with hymns, one of which sums up the *Kalyāṇakas* or auspicious moments."

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[1] Sanskritised by the commentator as Śāṇḍilya.

Prof. Jacobi's dissertation does not help us to clear up the relative position and the chronology of the *Yatikalpa* and the *Jinakalpa.* He does not commit himself to the view that these two *Kalpas* were works of the same author, although he tends to the opinion that the two parts existed together and were composed about the same time. The attempt to prove on the evidence of a modern work[1] that the *Jinakalpa* was not intended so much for a biographical as for a liturgical purpose is futile. Even if what he says be true, it proves nothing in a discussion of the question of the date and history of the *Jinakalpa.* Moreover, I find it difficult to understand how he could allow to go unchallenged the opinion of Weber that the *Sthavirakalpa* was added by Devardhi, to be consistent with his view that the List of *Sthaviras* closes with a rival of Devardhi. If Devardhi was really the author of the *Sthavirakalpa,* how could he conclude it with a praise of himself in these words: "I revere the *Kṣamāśramaṇa* Devardhi of the Kāśyapa Gotra, who wears, as it were, the Jewel of the right understanding of the *Sūtras* and possesses the virtues of patience, self-restraint, and clemency?" Our contention is that both Weber and Jacobi have ignored the fact of the gradual growth of the first two *Kalpas.* The *Jinakalpa* passed through almost as many stages of development as the *Sthavirakalpa,* and the original purpose of the *Jinakalpa* was rather biographical or historical than liturgical. In the account of the *Jinakalpa* all the Tīrthaṅkaras except four, *viz.,* Mahāvīra, Pārśva, Ariṣṭanemi and Ṛṣabha, to mention them in the order in which they occur in the Kalpa-Sūtra, are mere names,[2] the only detail supplied of them being the interval of time separating the advent of one from that of another. The list of the intermediate Tīrthaṅkaras is inserted between Ariṣṭanemi and Ṛṣabha. Looking from one point of view, the *Jinakalpa,* as it occurs in the existing Kalpa-Sūtra, seems to be intended to serve as an illustration of the Jaina conception of cosmical eras and of the notion that the process of the life of men on this earth is degenerating. If the list of the intermediate Tīrthaṅkaras and statements regarding long intervals of time be eliminated from the *Jinakalpa*, the account will be reduced to the life-history of just four Tīrthaṅkaras.[1] Further reduction of the number of Tīrthaṅkaras in a book of laws is possible from the evidence of the Ācārāṃga-Sūtra in which the rules of conduct are supplemented by an account of the life of Mahāvīra involving an incidental mention of Pārśva. The purpose of the account is anything but liturgical. As a matter of fact, the life of Mahāvīra would be out of place in a book like the Ācārāṃga-Sūtra which is intended to serve the purpose of a code of morality for the guidance of the Jaina Order, had it not been for the fact that it is essential to indicate the source from which the rules emanated and derived their sanction and sanctity. Except for the incidental reference to the present decadent era and its present period during which misery takes precedence of happiness as well as the mysterious removal of the fœtus from the womb of a Brahman mother to that of a *Kṣatriya* lady, there is hardly any vestige of the *Jinalogy* which we find worked out in the *Jinakalpa* section of the Kalpa-Sūtra in connection with the account of the life of Mahāvīra. It is therefore obvious that an account like the life of Mahāvīra in the Ācārāṃga afforded a basis for historical generalisation which underlies the Jinalogy. The Kalpa-Sūtra can be traced back to a still earlier source among the *Puvvas* where in all likelihood the life of Pārśva was connected in the same way with some earlier princely ascetics like Ariṣṭanemi who furthered the ideal of renunciation by their personal examples and teachings. The original account of three or four Tīrthaṅkaras appears to have been rather a combination of two separate accounts, one of which grew up among the followers of Pārśva, known as *Nirgrantha Kumāraputras* and the other among the followers of Mahāvīra, known as *Nirgrantha-jñātṛputras.* And this combination of the two accounts might be viewed as a happy result of the amalgamation of the followers of Pārśva and those of Mahāvīra into one school of religious philosophy. Each account must have grown up by historical generalisation of the life of one Tīrthaṅkara, viewed by his ardent followers as the highest type of human perfection. Upon the whole, the Jinalogy is significant as it points to a history behind each religious order, which appears to a common observer as a mere isolated product, having no connexion with the past, and the point which is of special interest to us here is that the existing account of the Jinas refers to a *tāpasa* or *vānaprastha* order, represented by the princely or royal hermits who had cut off all connection with household life, as a real background of the religious discipline inaugurated by Pārśva and founded upon a scientific and philosophical ground by Gośāla and Mahāvīra respectively. Another peculiarity of the Jinalogy is that only those *Kṣatriya* ascetics have been given a place in it who attained *siddhi* by meditating under a tree. The geographical region which comes under the scope of Jinalogy excludes the whole of the Deccan proper and includes merely the *Bhāratakhaṇḍa* or Aryanised portion of Northern India from Gujarāt to Bhagalpur.

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[1] The Sacred Books of the Jainas, I.A., Vol. XIV.

[2] Introduction to his edition of the *Kalpa-Sūtra.*

[3] Jaina Sūtras, Part I, Introd.

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[1] *E.g.,* the Caturviṃśati-Tīrthaṃkarāṇām Pūjā.

[2] J. Stevenson, the Kalpasūtra and Navatattva, p. 99, f.n. "The few particulars we have of the other Tīrthankars are most likely mere fictions, founded on no solid traditions."

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[1] In Rev. Stevenson's opinion Ṛṣabha, Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra are the only three historical characters, who practised austerities in ancient times.

II. Now turning to Buddhalogy we at once observe that like Jinalogy it grew up gradually. The Buddhist doctrine, as fully set forth in the Nidānakathā of the Jātaka-Commentary, shows many points of similarity with the Jaina. The Nidāna-account goes to prove that the Buddhalogy also was based upon a notion of the uniform succession of cosmical eras, broadly distinguished as the period of devolution and that of involution, the present era being altogether a decadent one. A point of resemblance between the list of Buddhas and that of Jinas is that both differ from the Brahmanical list of canonised Ṛṣis and the Bhāgavata list of Avatāras by the fact that they preclude the teachers who had not completely severed all household ties and the national heroes who were householders. The Buddhalogy also agrees with the Jinalogy in so far as it canonises those holy ascetics who are said to have attained omniscience at the foot of a certain Bodhi-tree, and its list of Bodhi-trees, the banyan, the peepul, and the rest, which were already held sacred for various reasons among the people at large and associated in popular superstition with spirit-haunting. But the two doctrines differ in some important points. For instance, the Buddhalogy leaves room enough in its list of Buddhas for the members of the Brahman caste, thereby indicating that Buddhism was not indiscriminately antagonistic in principle to the higher aspects of Brahmanic culture. It also speaks of a Buddha to come, which must be taken rather as a point of resemblance with the Hindu doctrine of incarnation. Another point of difference between it and the Jinalogy is that most of the names of birth-places of the Buddhas mentioned in it are apparently imaginary, *viz.*, *Rammanagara*, *Khema*, *Sumaṅgala*, *Sobhita*, *Anoma*, *Anōpama*, *Vebhāra*, *Campaka*, *Bandhumatī nagarī*, *Sobhavatī*, *Candavatī*, *Aruṇavatī*, *Dhaññavatī*, *Sudhaññavatī*, *Haṃsavatī* and *Yasovatī*. These were by implication the ancient names of some important towns and cities which were all situated within the tract of land in the Aryanised portion of Northern India, distinguished in the Buddhist literature as the Middle country or Mid-land (*Majjhima-desa*, *Madhya-deśa*). We might take, for example, *Rammanagara* to be the ancient name of Kāśī or Bārāṇasī, *Campaka* of Campā or Bhagalpur, *Vebhāra* of Magadha, and *Sobhavatīnagarī* of Āḷavī or Aḷabhiyā. The Aryanised portion of Northern India in the time of Buddha Gotama extended, as can be inferred from the names of rivers in the Vatthûpama-Sutta of the Majjhima-Nikāya and the oft-quoted Aṅguttara-list of 16 great peoples and countries, from the

Sarasvatī and the *Prayāga* in the extreme north-west to the *Gayā* and the *Sundarikā*, or more familiarly, to the river *Phalgu* in the south-east. And we may note that *Kāsī*, *Kosala*, *Aṅga*, *Magadha*, *Videha*, *Vajji*, *Malla*, *Āḷavī* and *Kosambī* are the countries where the important centres of Buddhism were located before the demise of the Buddha. It is no less a distinctive feature of the Buddhalogy that in it the precursors of Buddha Gotama are clearly grouped under three classes, *viz.*, (1) the Egotistic Buddhas (*Paccekabuddha, Pratyekabuddha*), (2) the most perfect Buddhas (*Buddha, Samyaksambuddha*), and (3) the Buddhas in the making (*Bodhisats*). In the Jātaka and Avadāna Books, the egotistic Buddhas appear as mere solitary figures and find but an incidental mention. It is difficult to ascertain from the later descriptions where they appear to have assumed rather a mythical character and are introduced just to serve as a contrast to the Buddhas *par excellence* whose ideal is said to be far loftier, functions more varied and motive altruistic. As regards the Buddhas and the Bodhisats, one must first of all look into the Nidānakathā of the Jātaka-Commentary, for a fuller account of them. But the Nidānakathā itself is only a combination of all earlier attempts to construct a consistent account of Buddhalogy, I mean, those which can be found in the Buddhavaṃsa, the Cariyā-Piṭaka, the Apadāna, the Canonical Jātaka Book, the Mahāpadāna Discourse and other older Birth-stories, appropriately termed *Suttanta-Jātakas* by Prof. Rhys Davids. The Nidānakathā excels all the earlier accounts in the Canon by its analytic treatment of the subject and by adding three Buddhas—*Taṇhaṃkara, Medhaṃkara* and *Saraṇaṃkara*—to the older list of 24, Dīpaṃkara to Gotama, but these additional names are all fictitious. Among the canonical texts, the Buddhavaṃsa alone gives a connected account of 24 Buddhas including Gotama, and incidentally mentions Metteyya or Maitreya, the Buddha yet to come. It seems to have been left to the Anāgatavaṃsa to supply a fuller account of Metteya, although the germ of the legend of the future Buddha can be traced in the Cakkavatti-Sutta of the Dīgha-Nikāya where a prophecy about his advent has been put into the mouth of Gotama. It is in the Buddhavaṃsa that we have a complete genealogy of the Buddhas in the sense that their lives are linked together by a chain of existences undergone by the Bodhisat of the present Buddha. It can be shown on internal evidence that the Buddhavaṃsa, like the Cariyā-Piṭaka and the Apadāna. were added to the Canon in post-Asokan times. It not only presupposes the Mahāpadāna Discourse and other *Suttanta-Jātakas*, but also a Canonical Jātaka Book containing no less than 500 Birth-stories in the shape of *Ākhyānas* or Ballads, I mean, so many narratives in the form of animated dialogues in verse. As we proceed backward from the Buddhavaṃsa to the *Suttanta-Jātakas*, the number of Buddhas and Bodhisattas becomes less and less. The Cullaniddesa, as is well known, refers to 500 Birth-stories (*pañca-Jātakasatāni*), while it mentions by name only four *Suttanta-Jātakas* in illustration, *viz.*,

1. *Mahāpadānīya-Suttanta*,
2. *Mahāsudassanīya-Suttanta*,
3. *Mahāgovindīya-Suttanta*,
4. *Maghādevīya-Suttanta.*

The number of *Suttanta-Jātakas*, scattered in the first four *Nikāyas* and the *Vinaya* Books, does not exceed ten, and as pointed out by Prof. Rhys Davids, they can be sharply distinguished from the stories of the Jātaka Book and Commentary by the fact that in none of them the Buddha appears to identify himself with any beings other than men, and among men, only with the persons of high rank, nobility and attainments, all belonging to the two higher castes. On examining the three *Suttanta-Jātakas*, *viz.*, the stories of *Mahāsudassana*, *Mahāgovinda* and *Makhādeva*, we find that in one of them the Bodhisat has been represented as the most prosperous king of *Kusavatī*, the ancient name of Kusīnārā in another as the most enlightened prime-minister of Benares, and in the last as the long-lived king of Mithilā. The story of *Makhādeva* or *Maghādeva* at once reminds us of the legend of *Māthava Videgha* in the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa. They are all said to have furthered the cause of renunciation in the country by their personal examples and teachings. A similar result is obtained when we examine the Mahāpadāna-Discourse which contains an account of just seven Buddhas, Vipassī to Gotama, instead of the 24 of the Buddhavaṃsa list. It may here be noted that these seven Buddhas were recognised in the earlier Buddhist tradition. Again, it is of these seven Buddhas that we find sculptural representations on the railing of the Bharaut Stūpa, and these Buddhas have been clearly distinguished in some of the Sanskrit Buddhist works as *mānuṣī* or historical,[1] although the legendary character of the Mahāpadāna-account does not seem to fully warrant such a statement. However, the interest of the account lies in the fact that it points as a background of the Buddhism of Gotama to an ascetic movement which had originated in the countries round about Benares. The enquiry along this line could be pushed further back to a point where the Bodhisattva-idea is entirely absent, that is to say, to a number of stories, such as those to be found in the *Dhammika-vagga* of the Anguttara-Nikāya, where the Buddha is not shown to have identified himself with any of the characters. I would like to particularise the story of seven *Purohitas* which latterly became a Birth-story in the Mahāgovinda-Discourse and afterwards split up into seven 'istinct *Jātakas* in the Canonical Jātaka-Book. It will however be interesting to point out that in the later collection of 500 Birth-stories there are to be found a number of Bodhisats who are famous in

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[1] The followers of Devadatta, according to Fa-Hian's evidence, recognised only three Buddhas, *viz.*, *Krakuśchanda*, *Kanakamuni* and *Kāśyapa* who were predecessors of *Gautama*.

Brahmanical literature as gifted seers and law-givers, *e. g.*, *Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyaṇa*, *Hārita*, *Uddālaka* and *Sarabhaṅga*.

In tracing the source of Buddhalogy we at last chance upon a very interesting discourse in the Majjhima-Nikāya, the Isigili-Sutta, where we are furnished with a list of some egotistic Buddhas who are otherwise described as seers (*Ṛṣis*) and teachers (*śāstā*), that is, the hermits who silently meditated, intent on their own good. The list supplied is far from exhaustive, inasmuch as it is far below the total number of egotistic Buddhas which is said to be 500. This curious list contains the names of *Nemi*, *Sarabhaṅga* and *Kaṇha*, who are represented as Bodhisats in the Jātaka-literature. This very list also mentions *Piyadassī*, *Sikhī*, *Tissa*, *Maṅgala*, *Paduma* *Padumuttara* and *Sobhita* who appear in the list of previous Buddhas. It refers also to many ascetics who hailed from different parts of Aryanized portion of India such as *Gandhāra*, *Kuru-Pañcāla*, *Kosala* and *Aṅga*. It is no less important for the fact that it includes *Usabha* or *Ṛṣabha* among the silent hermits. Hence the importance of the Majjhima-Discourse. It supplies us with a list of Indian hermit teachers differentiated by the Buddhists into three distinct classes of heroes in their Buddhalogy. We shall pursue our enquiry a little further in order to see whether the discourse under notice will throw any light on the origin of the holy places typified by the Paresnath Hill.

The mount *Isigili* was one of the five hills surrounding Rājagaha, the capital of Magadha. We are told that these five hills had formerly different names and designations, while they were locally known in the time of the Buddha as *Vebhāra*, *Pāṇḍava*, *Vepulla*, *Gijihakūta* and *Isigili*.[1] As to the origin of the name *Isigili*, it is said that formerly 500 egotistic Buddhas lived for a long time on this hill. While they were entering this hill, they could be seen that they just got into it, but once they got into it they were no longer to be seen. Having observed this, the people used to say that this hill had indeed swallowed up all these *Ṛṣis* and thus the name *Isigili* had originated. No one can mistake that such a fantastic etymology—'*Isi gilatiti Isigili*' was improvised or got up to grammatically explain *Isigili* which is but the Prakrit or popular form of *Ṛṣigiri*, Pâli *Isigiri*, the Hermit Hill or the Mountain Abode of the Hermits. But there must have been apparent reasons which called forth the popular speculation on the origin of the name *Isigili*. What then were the reasons? It seems that there were mountain caves which were so dark and dangerous that local people did not dare approach them and perhaps the general belief was that these hollows and caverns were used as dens by ferocious animals and serpents, tigers, bears and pythons—from whose attack and gaping mouth there was no escape. Such places these hermits had chosen for their retreat. It may as well be that the popular notion was that these hermits lived there for ever (*ciranivāsino ahesuṃ*) lost in ecstasy, feeding on air or ether like the serpent denizens of the place, or that they had entered these regions to mysteriously disappear out of human sight. So many associations of ideas are suggested in the popular impression of the Mountain Abode of the Hermits. In support of this we may recall to memory the pavillion at the foot of the *Vebhāra* mountain near the entrance to the *Sat'apaṇṇi* Cave where the First Buddhist Council was convened. This mountain with the dark cave within covering some acres of land, stands to this day on the surface of the earth, infested with numberless bears and serpents creating an *impasse* for modern explorers. There is a tradition about the *Vepulla* mountain that its formation took place by the accumulation of bones through many ages. A twofold interpretation of it suggests itself to the mind: that the mountain was formed by gradual stratification of layers with the fossils of fauna and flora, representing successive periods of geological changes, or that it was a resort from time immemorial of the hermits who came there to lay their bones. The name of *Gijjhakūṭa* or *Gṛdhrakūṭa*—the Vulture-Peak—suggests a similar association. Thus *Mt. Isigili* is just an instance of the hills which became sacred in the eye of the people hallowed that they were by the death of many hermit teachers whose history is yet to be written. We have no reason to disbelieve that in this manner Mt. Girnar and the Pareśnath Hill became two most sacred places of pilgrimage for the Jaina community.

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[1] The Mahābhārata list names the five hills as *Vaihāra-Vipula*, *Varāha*, *Vṛṣabha*, *Ṛṣigiri* and *Caityaka*.

Let me now sum up the results obtained. In examining the immediate background of Jinalogy and Buddhalogy we noticed that both were purely constructed systems of mythological creation. The Sacred Books of the Jainas and the Buddhists furnish us with sufficient evidences enabling us to trace the gradual growth of each. Nevertheless both presuppose a vigorous ascetic movement spreading over a considerably large geographical area stretching from *Gandhāra* and *Kuru-Pañcāla* to *Aṅga* and *Magadha*, or as we also might say from *Avantī* and *Suraṭṭha* to Bhagalpur and Western Bengal. The distinction of the different classes of teachers recognised in Jainism and Buddhism must be sought for among the members of different hermit orders who made their mark in history. The Jaina and Buddhist accounts of Jinas and Buddhas clearly indicate that the aristocracy of birth gave rise to the aristocracy of learning and spirituality. The instances are *nil* where a person of low origin rose to high fame. Both the Jinalogy and Buddhalogy go to show that a certain upheaval in the hermit life of which the origin can be traced back to the closing period of the Ṛg-Veda, if not earlier, took place and this change was mainly brought about by the examples of the kings, princes, ministers and commanders-in-chief of *Kāsī* and *Videha* who are said to have renounced the world with a large retinue of followers. *Kāsī* and *Videha* are still independent kingdoms. The

Kauṣītaki-Upaniṣad bears testimony to the fact that the kingdom of *Kāsī* flourished side by side with *Videha*. The Mahāgovinda-Suttanta unmistakably refers to *Kāsī* as an empire having its dominion extended over such territories as *Aṅga*, *Kaliṅga*, *Assaka*, *Sovīra*, *Avantī* and *Sākẹta*. The Buddhist story of Śarabhaṅga speaks of a time when there was an extensive *Daṇḍaka* empire extending from *Avantī* to *Kaliṅga* which flourished side by side with the kingdom of *Kāsī*.

B. M. BARUA

RECOMPENSE

The down on the wings of a butterfly ;
The bloom on the breast of a ripened peach ;
The gold in the heart of a scented rose ;
The wistful note of a bird at twilight ;
A sculptured lily, leaning o'er a pool ;
A breeze that sighs among the pliant leaves ;
The tender gleam of quiet after-glow ;
The moving shadows on the misty hills ;
The sound of far-off music in the air ;
The moon-path shining on the sea at night ;
All elusive and unsubstantial things
Give me to dream, and lift me from the earth.

LILY S. ANDERSON

THE PAINTER

The king had a painter.

Rumour was afloat that the master painter who had been so long in the king's service had gone mad. Why, nobody knew. Boundless were his whims, endless his views.

The king one day sent for his beloved painter and wanted a picture of the sea to be drawn.

Days and months passed.

The painter brought a picture. But what was it? A picture of Famine he left before the king. Children, with parents, emaciated and famished—like reeds their hands and feet—flesh nowhere—big eyes ready to devour.

A roar of laughter from the king's courtiers confounded the painter.

"No longer wanted," came the royal command.

Manimala, the princess, could not stay away. "I want the picture," said she, "never has a mortal produced such an excellent likeness of the sea." The courtiers looked at each other's faces gravely. He was pardoned this time.

2

"Paint a moon-lit night," ordered the king.

The painter again appeared before the king with his picture.

A furious storm has set in, plant and creepers mercilessly agitated, huts blown down, heavy showers,—such was the picture.

The courtiers hesitated before they burst into laughter again. The king searched in vain for some meaning in the picture.

Manimala saw all this from where nobody knew. She rushed into the court, lightning could never be so swift. "Let me have a look," said she passionately. She looked with fixed eyes at the picture and exclaimed, "A moon-lit night! where is the painter?"

The king stared at his beloved daughter. His eyes strove to see into her soul. He was but bewildered. No syllable fell from his lips.

3

Another day again.

The crazed painter another day visited the king at royal pleasure.

Legs trembling, heart beating heavily, dead-white face, he awaited what the king's stern looks would dictate. But the king meant no danger. Softly and slowly he expressed his desire. "There you see," he said, "a picture on the wall; a beautiful winter sunset; such will be your painting next time. Show this to none; come straight to this my secluded chamber; agreed?"

The painter agreed.

This was indeed a hard task. He took his brush, but no shape it imparted. He dropped the brush, left his seat, looked through the windows. He gazed and gazed. Nothing but azure heavens there. He heaved a sigh—a deep sigh.

A hazy shape at first. Now bloomed forth the picture on the canvas, but slowly, very slowly.

Mother seated resplendent in all her motherly glory. The baby in her arms. A heavenly smile plays on the ruby lips. Her eyes drink the smile deeply. Perfect bliss reigns. But there is the sun getting down......

All his soul he wrung to draw this on the canvas. Never in his life did the painter accomplish such a thing. A happy day. A glow was there on his brow.

4

The picture in hand he proceeded. No one saw him, no bustle.

A splendid thing would be the picture. The king got down from the seat to welcome him. He asked for the picture. With both his hands he held it before his eyes. His thirsty eyes he cast upon it. He saw.

Blood ran hot in his veins. It was boiling there. With his gaze the king stupefied, quite stupefied, the painter. Measuring him with eyes from head to foot he then thundered, "Off at once."

* * * * *

Manimala was at the gate. She garlanded him with her lotus hands. With faltering accents she gave out, "So we meet in this life too."

A. SANYAL

THE CALL OF THE ROAD

When the purple mist hangs low on the hills,
And the wild goose wings a south-ward flight ;
And the crisping air of evening thrills,
And the Indian moon shines red at night;
Then I long to shake my dusty soul
Free from the stifling fetters of men,
And hie me forth from this musty hole,
To the broad free Road again.

And I'll take to the Road, with a lightsome load,
With a song, but never a care.
For the call is strong, and the call is long,
And all who will may fare !

When the apple turns red, and the bough bends low,
And the pumpkin gleams gold in the sun ;
And the orderly corn-stalks, row on row,
Lean like wigwams, and harvest's done ;
Then I hear the wild free call again,
That comes on the fragrant breeze ;
That comes from the distant wood and plain,
From the lands beyond the seas.

For the Road is free, and it beckons me,
And blithely I'll pack my load,
While hope runs high, my heart and I
Will answer the Call of the Road !

LILY S. ANDERSON

THE ANTIQUITY OF THE RIGVEDA

The date of the Rig Veda has been the subject of much discussion and controversy. Scholars are not wanting who would place it in the Miocene or the Pliocene epoch, while others would bring it down to the close of the second, or the beginning of the first millennium B.C. There is, however, a consensus of opinion regarding its comparative antiquity, and it is almost universally accepted that the Rig Veda is older than the rest of Indian Literature, and that even the latest parts of the work are much older than Buddha Śākyamuni. But the number of centuries which separated the latest hymns from the time of the founder of Buddhism, is a matter regarding which there is the widest divergence of opinion.

Max Müller, starting from the date of Alexander's invasion, and assigning a period of two hundred years for the development of each of the four literary strata discernible in the Vedic Literature, arrived at the date 1200 to 1000 B.C. as the beginning of Vedic poetry, and his view has been accepted by scholars like Macdonell and Keith. Tilak and Jacobi, on the other hand, tried to push the date much further back on astronomical grounds. But, as pointed out by Macdonell (Sans. Lit., p. 12), Keith (Camb. Hist., pp. 111-112), and Winternitz (Cal. Rev., Nov., 1923, p. 126) it is not safe to build a chronological edifice on a foundation the solidity of which is subject to grave doubts. The last-mentioned scholar justly attaches greater importance to historical and geographical arguments, and it is to such arguments that we shall adhere in this humble treatise.

Prof. Winternitz seeks to show that the Rig Veda is the oldest literary work in India. While accepting the general observations of the Professor regarding the priority of the Rig Veda to the other Vedic texts, and to the earliest literature of the Jains and the Buddhists, we confess that we find it difficult to follow some of his arguments, particularly those which lead him to think that the age of the Rig Veda must be placed nearer the date assumed by Jacobi and Tilak than to that adopted by Max Müller.

Thus it is impossible to endorse the view that "During the whole time from the first beginnings to the last off-shoots of Vedic literature the Indo-Aryan people have only conquered the comparatively small area from the Indus to the Ganges." The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa is certainly older than the "last off-shoots of Vedic literature," and in it we have a reference to several kingdoms of Dakshiṇā Diś, and in particular to the Aryan kingdom of Vidarbha (Berar) whose king Bhîma received instruction regarding the substitute for the Soma juice through a succession of teachers from Parvata and Nārada. King Bhîma was only fourth in spiritual succession from Somaka, son of Sahadeva, who is mentioned in the Rig Veda (iv., 15.7-8). The Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad mentions a teacher named Vidarbhî Kauṇḍinya whose name marks him out as an inhabitant of the city of Kuṇḍinā in Vidarbha, and who was only three generations removed from Ayāsya Āṅgirasa, a Rigvedic ṛishi, the composer of many Rig Vedic hymns (*cf.* X. 67. 1; 108. 8; ix. 44-46; x. 67; 68; Ved. Ind., i. 32; Brih. Up., ii. 6; iv. 5). The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa refers to Nada Naishadha, a southern king, whose realm Nishadha lay in the Vindhyan region (Sat. Br., ii. 2, 2, 1. 2; Mārk. Purāṇa., LVII. 54-55).

It is thus clear that not only the Ganges valley, but a considerable portion of Central India and the Deccan was Aryanised long before "the last off-shoots of Vedic literature." Consequently we fail to appreciate the force of the following arguments of Winternitz "if it took such a long time for Aryan civilisation to spread only from the extreme north-west to the eastern Ganges district, how many centuries must have been required not only for Vedic literature but at the same time also for Brahmanical culture, theology and even priestly supremacy to pervade the whole of Central and Southern India." Let us not be misunderstood; the Aryanisation of India was certainly not accomplished in a day. But Winternitz's exaggerated estimate of the requisite period is, in our opinion, based on a wrong premise.

Again when Winternitz says that the Rig Veda is older than Pārśva he is probably correct, but in the absence of genuine works which can, with any amount of certainty, be referred to Pārśva himself, is it not rather rash to say that the Veda must have been completed and considered as the sacred text of Brahmanism as early as the eighth century B. C. (the age of Pārvśa)? The truth is that although Winternitz is right in holding that the Rig Veda is more ancient than any other literary product of India, yet when he actually tries to measure the distance which separates the work from well-known chronological epochs his arguments are not at all convincing.

But are there no indications in the Vedic literature itself which may help us to arrive at an approximate date of the Rik Saṁhitā? We think there are, and it will be our endeavour in this treatise to draw the attention of scholars to a few facts which, though they do not finally solve the problem, yet lend some additional weight to the brilliant conjecture of Max Müller.

In the 98th Sūkta of the 10th Maṇḍala of the Rik Saṁhitā mention is made of two personages named Śantanu and Devāpi whom Yāska represents as two brothers, sons of a Kuru king. The younger Śantanu became king, Devāpi having made choice of a life of penance. It is impossible not to recognise in these two scions of the Kuru royal family, the famous Kuru king Śantanu and his ascetic brother Devāpi immortalised in the pages of the Mahābhārata.[1] According to the Great Epic king Śantanu was sixth in the ascending line from Parikshit (son of Abhimanyu). If this tradition has any value the end of the Rig Vedic period cannot be separated by more than six generations from the time of the last-mentioned sovereign. It may, however, be argued that the Mahābhārata in its present shape is a late work, and the tradition recorded in the Ādiparva regarding the relationship between Śantanu and Parikshit is mere folklore, useless for historical purposes. But the main conclusion at which we have arrived, namely, that the Rig Veda is separated by not more than six generations from the time of Parikshit, receives striking confirmation from a more reliable quarter. We have already referred to the sage Ayāsya Āṅgirasa who is the composer of many of the hymns of the Rig Veda, and who is mentioned by name in the tenth Maṇḍala. In two lists of teachers given in the Bṛihad Up. (ii. 6; iv. 5) this sage is represented as being ninth in the ascending line from Vātsya, pupil of Śāṇḍilya, whereas Tura Kāvasheya, the priest of Parikshit's son (and Abhimanyu's grandson, Bhāgavata, ix. 22, 25-26; Ait. Br. viii. 21), is only fifth in the ascending line from the same teacher (Vātsya) as we learn from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (end of Book X). In other words, Ayāsya is separated by four or five generations from Tura as will appear from the following table:—

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[1] The epithet Ārshṭisena applied to Devāpi does not necessarily indicate that he was the son of Rishṭisena, any more than the epithet Gairikshita applied to Paurukutsya, *i.e.* Trasadasyu (Rig. V., 33.8) shows that he was the son of Girikshit, or the epithet Saudyumni

Ayāsya Āṅgirasa ...	...
Pathin Saubhara ...	...
Vatsanapāt Bābhrava	...
Vidarbhî Kauṇḍinya	...
Gālava ...	... Tura Kāvasheya.

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applied to Bharata Dauḥsanti shows that he was the son of Sudyumna. Rishṭisena may have been a remote ancestor of Devāpi, or the name might have been a secondary epithet of Pratīpa, as Vasusena of Karṇa and Mahāsena of Pradyota. As to the epithet Aulāna which, according to some, refers to Śantanu it may be pointed out that 'Ilina' is actually mentioned in the dynastic lists of the Mahābhārata as the name of an ancestor of Śantanu. The name had variants, and the real name may have been Ulana as the Rigvedic word suggests.

Kumāra Hārita ...	... Yajñavachas Rājastambāyana.
Kaisorya Kāpya ..	. . Kuśri.
Sāṇḍilya ...	... Sāṇḍilya.
Vātsya ...	... Vātsya.

We are further told by the Bṛih. Up. that Ayāsya flourished thirteen or fourteen generations before Āsuri (a near spiritual ancestor of Asurāyana), while a glance at page 18 of my "Political History of Ancient India" will show that Tura Kāvasheya was only seven generations removed from the same teacher (Āsuri). According to this calculation Ayāsya was six or seven generations removed from Tura. It is clear that Ayāsya was older by not less than four, nor more than six or seven generations from the time of Tura Kāvasheya and his contemporary Janamejaya, son of Parikshit. We must make allowance for the difference of one or two generations while comparing the various lists of teachers, because all the Rishis did not live for an equal length of time. Moreover, we have instances in which a teacher appears both as Guru and Parama Guru of the same person. We may take six as the mean number of generations which separated the teachers Ayāsya and Tura.[1] If the Mahābhārata tradition

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[1] The conclusion at which we have arrived from a study of the *Āchārya-paramparā* in the Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad is strikingly confirmed by the Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka. That work gives a list of teachers according to which Viśvāmitra and Devarāta (Sunaḥ-sepa), the composers of many Rigvedic hymns, who according to the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa are contemporaries of Ayāsya Āṅgirasa, are 15th and 14th respectively in the ascending line from Guṇākhya Śāṅkhāyana whereas Tura Kāvasheya priest of Janamejaya Pārikshita is only eighth in the ascending line from the same teacher (Pol. Hist. Anc. Ind., pp. 9, 18).

1. Viśvāmitra	
2. Devarāta	
3. Sākamaśva	
4. Vyaśva	
5. Viśvamanā	
6. Uddālaka	
7. Sumnayu	
8. Bṛihaddiva	8. Tura Kāvasheya.
9. Prativeśya	9. Yajñavachas Rājastambāyana.
10. Sauma Prātiveśya	10. Kuśri.
11. Somapa	11. Sāṇḍilya.
12. Priyavrata Saumāpi	12. Vātsya.
13. Uddālaka Āruṇi	13. Vāmakakshāyaṇa ; Uddalaka Āruṇi.
14. Kahola Kaushītaki	14. Yājñavalkya and Kahola.
15. Guṇākhya Śāṇkhāyana	15. Guṇākhya Śāṅkh āyan.a

regarding the relationship between Śantanu and Parikshit has any value this would make Ayāsya a contemporary of Śantanu, and an elder contemporary of the Rishi Parāśara who is well-known in the Epic as a contemporary of the second wife of that king. That our surmise is correct is proved by the evidence of the Aitareya and Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇas. According to the story of Śunaḥśepa narrated in the Aitareya (vii. 13-18)—which in the opinion of Winternitz himself is a legend of time-honoured age—Ayāsya was the Udgātā of king Hariśchandra whose court was visited by Parvata and Nārada. Consequently Ayāsya and Nārada were contemporaries. Now the Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa (Ved. Ind. ii., pp. 315, 339) tells us that Nārada taught Vishvaksena and the latter taught Vyāsa Pārāśarya (son of Parāśara). Parāśara, father of Vyāsa, was thus, on the evidence of the Brāhmaṇa, a contemporary of Vishvaksena and a junior contemporary of Nārada and of Ayāsya if, as is possible, Nārada of the Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa be identical with his namesake of the Aitareya. And this is just the conclusion at which we have arrived from a study of the Brihad. Up. and the Mahābhārata. The agreement between the Brāhmaṇas, the Upanishad and the Epic, and the synchronisms established, confirm and corroborate one another, and tend to show that the Rājaparamparā and the Guruparamparā to which we have drawn attention, are entitled to credence. We have no valid reason therefore for doubting their authenticity and historical value. If that be so, it is impossible to believe that Śantanu and Ayāsya could be more than six or seven generations older than Janamejaya Pārikshita and Tura Kāvasheya. Now Rhys Davids in his Buddhist Suttas adduces good grounds for assigning a period of hundred and fifty years to the five Theras from Upāli to Mahinda. If the five Theras be assigned a period of hundred and fifty years, the six or seven teachers from Ayāsya to Tura may be assigned a period of two centuries. And the tenth Maṇḍala of the Rig Veda referring to Ayāsya could not have been composed more than two hundred years before the time of Janamejaya the patron of Tura. In my "Political History" I have tried to show that Parikshit, father of Janamejaya, flourished probably in the 9th century B. C. In that case the date of the hymns mentioning Ayāsya cannot be earlier than the 11th century B. C. Even if we accept the Purāṇic date (1,015 years before Nanda, *i.e.*, 14th century B. C.) for Parikshit, father of Janamejaya, the Rig Veda could not have been completed earlier than the 16th century B. C.

It may be argued that the tenth Maṇḍala of the Rik Saṁhitā is a later addition. Is there any evidence that some of the other Maṇḍalas were known at the time of Ayāsya and Śantanu? Fortunately the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa throws a flood of light on the solution of this question also. In the Śunaḥ-śepa legend Ayāsya is mentioned as a contemporary not only of Nārada but also of Vasishṭha, of Viśvāmitra father of Madhucchandas, of Madhucchandas himself and of Śunaḥ-śepa, adopted son of Viśvāmitra. Now Viśvāmitra *sunu* of Kuśika (*i.e.*, father of Madhucchandas), is mentioned as the author of several hymns of the third Maṇḍala, while his son Madhucchandas is the composer of the very first hymns of the first and ninth Maṇḍalas. Śunaḥ-śepa is mentioned in Rig Veda i. 24. 13. and v. 2. 7. The seventh book refers to Vasishṭha, grand-father of Parāśara and contemporary of Viśvāmitra, *sunu* of Kuśika, and what is more important, it mentions Parāśara himself who, as we have seen, was a younger contemporary of Ayāsya and is, moreover, the composer of the hymns i. 65 *et seq.* If the evidence of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa has any value, part of the first, third, fifth, seventh and ninth Maṇḍalas of the Rig Veda must have been in existence in the time of Ayāsya.[1] Thus a large part, if not the whole, of the Rik Saṁhitā was composed not earlier than the eleventh century B.C. according to my chronology (16th century according to the chronology of the Purāṇas). The references to Śunaḥ-śepa, Parāśara and Śantanu are too clear to be explained away.

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[1] Independent proof of the approximate date of Viśvāmitra and his adopted son and pupil Śunaḥ-śepa (Devarāta), and consequently of the hymns composed by them, is

The conclusion at which we have arrived is borne out by linguistic and geographical evidence. All scholars of note refer to the striking coincidence in language between the Avesta and the cuneiform inscriptions of the Achæmenian kings (6th century B.C.) on the one hand, and the Rig Veda on the other. Prof. Winternitz admits that the two languages, Old Persian and Old High Indian, are so closely related that it is not difficult to translate the Old Persian inscriptions right into the language of the Veda. In view of this fact we cannot lightly dismiss the testimony of those Vedic texts according to which some of the personages mentioned in the Rig Veda flourished only about half a dozen generations earlier than Parikshit.

Again though it may be conceded that the geographical conditions as reflected in the hymns of the Rig Veda point to a higher antiquity than those described in the Brāhmaṇas, yet there is sufficient evidence to show that the two cannot well be separated by thousands of years. In the time of the Rig Veda Aryan settlements had spread as far as the Chedi country and the Sarayu the association of which with the Arya Citraratha (Rig Veda, iv. 30. 18; Rāmāyaṇa ii. 32. 17) suggests that the river which flows past Ayodhyā is meant. If the Śatapatha story regarding the spread of Aryan culture to Videha has any value then it cannot be denied that Videha was colonised within a generation after the Rig Vedic period, for Gotama Rāhūgaṇa (Rig Veda, i. 78.5; Sat. Br. i. 4. 1.10 etc.; xi, 4.3.20), one of the pioneers of Vedic culture in Videha

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furnished by the list of teachers at the end of the Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka, according to which Viśvāmitra and Devarāta are 15th and 14th respectively in the ascending line from Guṇākhya Śāṅkhāyana, and about six or seven generations removed from Tura Kāvasheya, and Janamejaya Pārikshita. This would place them about two centuries before the age of Parikshit, (9th Century B.C. according to my chronology and 14th Century B.C, according to the Purāṇas).

as well as Nami Sāpya king of Videha (Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa, xxv. 10.17; Rig Veda, vi. 20. 6; x. 48.9) are mentioned in the Rig Veda. The name of Vidarbhî Kauṇḍinya, fourth in spiritual succession from Ayāsya presupposes the spread of Aryan civilisation to Vidarbha within four generations from the Rig Vedic period. The mention of Bhîma Vaidarbha as fourth in spiritual succession from the Rig Vedic king Somaka, son of Sahadeva (R. V., iv. 15. 7-8) in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa points to the same conclusion.

It may, however, be asked that if the Rig Vedic Aryans and their proximate successors spread as far as Videha in the east and Vidarbha in the south, how are we to account for the absence of any reference to such well-known Janapadas as Kuru, Pañcāla, Śūrasena, Kosala and Magadha in the Rig Veda?

Now, in the first place it may be pointed out that the Rig Veda is not a geographical manual, and too much importance should not be attached to the *argumentum ex silentio.* The famous river hymn of the tenth Maṇḍala which shows an intimate acquaintance with the whole country from the Gaṅgā to the Kubhā, and mentions even insignificant streams like the Marudvṛidhā, Ārjîkîyā and Sushomā, omits to mention the Dṛishadvatî, Vipaśā and Suvāstu. But that these streams were well-known to the Rig Vedic poets is clear from other passages. The Atharva Veda certainly knows the Aṅgas and the Magadhas but never refers to the Ganges, the Soṅ and the Champā. Hiuen Tsang in his account of Mathurā and the surrounding district does not refer to the Jumna. All these show the dangers of the *argumentum ex silentio.* Moreover, it should not be forgotten that all the recensions of the Rik Saṁhitā (*cf.* Vishṇu Purāṇa, iii. 4) have not come down to us. We have instances in which names omitted in one recension do occur in another recension of the same work (*cf.* the mention of the Kāsis in the Paippalāda recension of the Atharva Veda). But we need not pursue the matter further because the Rig Veda actually refers to the peoples called Kurus, Pañcālas, Śūrasenas, Kosalas and Magadhas though under different names, *viz.*, Bharatas, Krivis, Yadus, Āryas on the banks of the Sarayu, and Kîkaṭas respectively. The territorial and racial connexion between the Bharatas and the Kurus is established both by epic and Vedic evidence (RV., iii. 23, 2-4; Sat. Br. xiii. 5. 4. 11. 21; Oldenberg, Buddha, pp. 409-410). Moreover the name Kuru itself seems to be alluded to in the appellations Kuru-śravana and Kaurayāṇa. As to the Krivis, their identity with the Pañcālas is proved by the testimony of the Śatapatha Br. (xiii. 5. 4. 7). The Dālbhyas, a well-known Pañcāla family (Jaiminîya Up. Br., iii, 29. i.; iv. 7. 2) are expressly mentioned in the Rig Veda in connexion with the river Gomatî (v. 61. 17-19), and it need not be pointed out that a river called Gomatî flows past Rohilkhand, ancient Uttara Pañcāla. That the Yadus were in the Madhyadeśa appears probable from their connexion with the Turvaśas and the river Sarayu (RV., iv. 30. 17-18). The position of the Turvaśas is determined by their connexion with the Yaksus (RV., vii. 18. 6) of the Jumna valley (RV., vii. 18. 19), with the Pañcālas (Sat. Br. xiii. 5. 4. 16) and the allied tribe of the Sṛiñjayas (RV., vi. 27. 7). A Rigvedic passage (v. 52. 17) seems even to suggest a reference to the famous Gokul on the Jumna so well-known in Purāṇic legends about the Yadus and the Śūrasenas. As to the Āryas on the banks of the Sarayu (RV., iv. 30, 18) one of them, the Ārya Citraratha is actually mentioned as a Saciva of the Ikshvākus of Ayodhyā in the Rāmāyaṇa. The Ikshvākus themselves are referred to in RV., x. 60. 4. Regarding the Kîkaṭas the only evidence that is available, *viz.*, the evidence of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa (i., 3. 24; with Śrîdhara's commentary) the Abhidhāna Chintāmani, etc., identifies them with Magadha, the scene of Buddha's enlightenment. And it is not unreasonable to prefer the unanimous testimony of mediæval works to twentieth century guesses.

We have tried to fix the approximate date of some of the hymns of the Rig Veda. Do the Vedic texts furnish any clue as to the date of the foundation of any of the Aryan kingdoms in India? Now, a passage of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa refers to a Sṛiñjaya king named Dushṭarītu whose realm had existed only for ten generations, and who was a contemporary of the Kuru chief Balhika Prātipīya. It is not unreasonable to infer from this that the foundation of the Sṛiñjaya kingdom took place ten generations earlier than the time of Balhika Prātipīya whom the Great Epic consistently represents as a brother of Śantanu. The Sṛiñjayas are, as is well-known, one of the most famous tribes of the Rigveda. Even if we allow the high figure of thirty years for a generation, we cannot place the foundation of the kingdom of this Rigvedic people before the fourteenth century B. C. according to my chronology, and nineteenth century B. C. according to the chronology of the Purāṇas. Thus the date of the rise of one at least of the Rigvedic kingdoms cannot be pushed further back than the second millennium B. C.

HEMCHANDRA RAYCHAUDHURI

FOREIGN FORTUNE-HUNTERS AND THEIR SUCCESS

Valour, military skill and intellectual greatness were not utterly dead in this country when soldiers-of-fortune came pouring in from Europe in great numbers, in search of gold, adventure and glory. India could yet boast of generals like Mahadji Sindhia, Parashuram Bhao Patvardhan, Tukoji Holkar, and Haidar Ali, and statesmen like Mirza Najaf Khan and Nana Fadnavis. What was it then that enabled these adventurers to win the favour of Indian kings and to fill high military posts under them ?

It should be remembered that in the history of India the latter half of the 18th century was an era of remarkable changes. The Maratha Power, founded on the ruins of the old Mughal empire, was fast gaining in strength when all of a sudden it received a deadening shock at the third battle of Panipat (Jany. 1761). A couple of decades later, in Upper India Mahadji Sindhia through his extraordinary diplomacy and power of organization founded a new Maratha kingdom, but at his death he left no worthy successor who could save his kingdom from disruption. In the Deccan, Haidar Ali had extended his territories and consolidated his kingdom in Mysore. The remaining portions of India were divided into small isolated principalities owned by independent rulers. In a country, thus split up into numerous petty States, warfare was naturally the order of the day, and such a state of things was peculiarly favourable to adventurers.

Many of these adventurers were sons of the soil and amongst them the names of Jaswant Rao Holkar and Amir Khan, the Pindari chief, stand out foremost. Jaswant Rao was the natural son of Tukoji Holkar and, as such, had royal blood in his veins. He escaped from the State-prison at Nagpur and with the help of only half a dozen horsemen—lent him as a matter of favour by the Pawar chief of Dhar—succeeded in consolidating his power in his late father's kingdom of Indore and had no scruple in dethroning even the Peshwa, who was his father's overlord.

The Shenvi Brahmans of the far-off district of Goa used to come to Upper India in utter destitution, and haunt the kingdoms of Sindhia and Holkar in quest of fortunes. From common soldiers some of them rose to the highest positions in the government and army of Sindhia. With the help of these soldiers-of-fortune Jiwba-dada Bakhshi and Ballova Tatta at one time figured as the most important personages of the realm, guiding the destinies of the people under the dominion of Sindhia. Lakhwa-dada and Ambaji Inglia became famous in the history of the Marathas in the same way. Besides the above, there were Sarji Rao Ghatgay, the father-in-law of Daulat Rao Sindhia, Balaji Kunjar—a special favourite of Baji Rao II—and a host of other adventurers of the common type, who made their fortunes by sheer ability and opportunism.

Let us now turn to the European military adventurers who entered the services of the Indian princes. It must be acknowledged that they were men of indefatigable energy and of strong determination. But, however much they may have been extolled by English writers, there are numerous instances to show that they were mostly unscrupulous mercenaries out to make their fortunes in this country. Few could claim the rare quality of having been faithful to their masters. From Col. Malleson's *Final French Struggles in India* (1878) it would appear that most of these adventurers were of low birth and culture.

De Boigne and Raymond could lay claim to some military training. Perron was a runaway sailor, and Pedrons, Bourquin, and George Thomas belonged to the same class. Reinhardt (Samru), the husband of Begam Samru and Madec were mediocre soldiers. General Samru was notorious for his cruelty and treachery, but his is not the only name besmirched by such conduct. When the unfortunate Ghulam Qadir was flying with his gold and jewels concealed on horseback, he was caught by a villager and handed over to the Marathas. But no trace of his horse or treasure could be found. At the same time one Lesteneau, a French General under the Jat Rajah Ranjit Singh, who was detached in the pursuit of Ghulam Qadir, suddenly disappeared from India. His sole object in coming here across the Ocean was gold, and the moment this dream was realized the adventurer was off to enjoy it at home.

Chevalier or 'Knight' was the title of Dudrenec, connoting noble lineage. But his conduct as a soldier was hardly consistent with his noble birth. He was employed by Tukoji Holkar as captain of his forces. On the death of Tukoji (1787) a quarrel arose between his sons—Kashi Rao and Malhar Rao—on the question of succession. Kashi Rao gained the throne with the aid of Sindhia who was his father's enemy, and Dudrenec sided at first with Kashi Rao. Later, when Jaswant Rao with a handful of soldiers attacked Dudrenec, the latter without any hesitation deserted his master and went over with all his troops and guns to Jaswant Rao. Again, when Jaswant's power was on the wane, Dudrenec had no scruple in espousing the cause of Sindhia—the inveterate enemy of Holkar and, again, on the commencement of hostilities between Sindhia and the English, he followed expediency by deserting Sindhia and making terms with the British !

Perron, the escaped sailor, joined the army of Sindhia and had gradually become the commander-in-chief of his Doab Forces. During the second Maratha war (1803) when the English came into conflict with Sindhia, this ungrateful soldier, throwing to the winds all sense of moral obligation to his master, sided with the English, who were the enemies of his own nation too ! Needless to say, Perron had entered into a secret agreement with the British before the outbreak of this war.

What was then the secret of the success of these foreigners? What was the special merit which paved their way to fame and fortune ?

In the 16th century when the Great Mughal Akbar was on the throne of, Delhi, Europe and Asia were almost peers in the art of warfare. But thereafter the Europeans, as progressive nations, considerably improved this art by their zeal and unwearied efforts, while the Indians remained just where they were, content with their antiquated weapons and tactics. During the reign of Akbar and even that of Aurangzib, we find the Europeans in their service in all departments far below the Indians in efficiency and, as such, they could not secure high posts in the army. As an instance, the name of Bernier might be mentioned ; this gentleman used to address Danishmand Khan, the minister of Aurangzib, as his *Agha* a term used in addressing one's master only. But in the 18th century the tables were turned. The enterprising and bold Westerners were the *de facto* masters of the situation and the sons of the soil were mere puppets in their hands. As for illustration we might name Gurgin Khan of Nawab Mir Kasim's *darbar*—an Armenian adventurer, and Bussy, the Frenchman in the Nizam's Dominions.

That every European was naturally a past master in the art of warfare was the idea which became deeply rooted in the minds of the Indian people in the late 18th century. And the impression was not groundless. The French Governor Dupleix with a small body of French soldiers and sepoys successfully stemmed the surging tide of the Karnatak Nawab Anwar-ud-din's mighty host. The English merchants of Bombay with only 1,500 soldiers at their back had the audacity to declare war against the whole Maratha confederacy, and though in an open action the English were repulsed, the admirable behaviour of the British soldiers and the masterly manœuvres of their generals left an abiding impression on the mind of Sindhia, himself a great general. Ever since then, Sindhia was anxious to train his soldiers on European lines. Following in his footsteps, Holkar and the Peshwa also enlisted English captains for imparting military education to their Indian forces. The rulers of smaller kingdoms, struck by the superior military training of the English, were eager to engage Europeans as commanders of their armies.

Thus it was that the higher posts in the Indian States were thrown open to enterprising foreigners even in the presence of capable Indian generals, and they cleared the way for others among their countrymen in succeeding generations.

BRAJENDRANATH BANERJI

THE EARLY INDIAN VISITORS TO ENGLAND

It would be difficult to conceive of any more fascinating chapter in our history than the story of the early Indian visitors to Europe. The material for such a record exists here and there in the pages of many historians and writers on India, but a systematic study of the subject has yet to be made. On the other hand, the exploits of the early European travellers to India have time and again been recorded. As the pioneers of world navigation, it was natural for them to visit distant parts of the globe; but that the contemplative Indian should fare forth from his long seclusion is interesting historically and still more psychologically. Was it a revival in individuals of the spirit of enterprise which in the days of the Roman Empire had carried Indian ships to all the Eastern waters of the known world? However that may be, something of the adventurous spirit which led them from the placid East to the bustling West may perhaps be recaptured as we trace the adventures these visitors experienced and the difficulties they had to encounter in their wanderings in days when to cross the *Kalapanee* was considered by orthodox Indians to be a defilement. Some of these men were among the best minds of India, and we shall consider not only the impression which they made upon the Western mind, but the new influences which they took back to their own country and incorporated into their work as reformers, scholars, and statesmen—and this at a period when Western learning and culture were just beginning to leaven the East; while, as to the effect in the West, any better knowledge of the visits of men of such character as these pages may convey will, it is hoped, help to remove some lamentable prejudices that ignorance of the Indian people allows to become too prevalent among Englishmen,—prejudices perhaps deepened by caricatures (such a one for instance as that in

Thackeray's *Newcomes*) which have been hastily mistaken as serious pictures of Indian character.

The aim, therefore, of the present essay is to give to the reader a few facts concerning the mission of some of these important Indian visitors who came to Europe either as Ambassador, agents or scholars. Their forerunners were men of a humbler class. Many *lascars* must have come to England on the ships of the East India Company at an early date but these should not be counted in the list of recorded visitors. Still it may be mentioned as a curious corroboration of the fact that when a number of Henry Every's men were hanged in 1697 at Wapping Dock for piracy in the Indian seas, some Indian *lascars* were taken to the place of execution to witness the death penalty, so that they might report to the Great Mogul that justice had taken its course with the pirates.

The earliest visit we can trace is that of a young Indian who arrived in England on August 19, 1614, with Captain Best. He was under the care of a preacher named Patrick Copeland, who taught him to read and write, and he proved an apt pupil.

> "The Company therefore resolved to have him kept here to schoole to bee taught and enstructed in religion that hereafter being well grounded he might upon occasion bee sent unto his countrye where God may be soe pleased to make him an instrument in converting some of his nation......"

It was resolved to grant a sum of "20 markes" per annum for his education, in the hope that the boy might accompany Mr. Copeland on his next voyage. A year after (6th July, 1615), the latter wrote to Sir Thomas Smyth, Governor of the Company, to report on the progress the boy had made with regard to his knowledge of Christianity and also to solicit the Governor's directions about his baptism, and to arrange for his public confession, "being the first fruits of India." The Court of Directors could not decide anything "in soe waightie a buysiness" without consulting the Archbishop of Canterbury, George Abbot, with the result that his Grace approved of the proposal. The young man was baptised on 22nd December, 1616, at St. Dionis Backchurch, Fenchurch Street. We learn that there were present a distinguished congregation consisting of

> "some members of the Privy Council, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, the members of the East India Company and of the sister Company of Virginia; the Church was packed and there was an immense crowd outside. Dr. John Wood of Great St. Helen's officiated. The name given in baptism was chosen by the King......"

The official record of the Baptism runs as follows:

> "1616 Dec. 22. An East Indian was christened by the name of Peter."

Shortly afterwards Mr. Copeland undertook a second voyage sailing on the "Royal James," accompanied by Peter. Copeland returned in 1621, with money he had collected for the mission in Virginia. This sum was further increased after a sermon he preached in St. Mary Le Bow Church, Cheapside, in 1622, in which he referred to the boy, Peter. We also learn that Peter acquired a good knowledge of Latin, in which language he wrote three letters. It is not certain to what part of India Peter's parents belonged, as his birth is supposed to have taken place in the "Bay of Bengal."[1]

Naorozji Rastamji, youngest son of Rastam Manak of Surat, (broker to the English factory) was sent to England in 1722, reaching London in April, 1723, on board the *Salisbury*, to support a family claim against the English factory. The Court of Directors decided in his favour and after arbitration an award for Rs. 546,790 was agreed upon, which sum was paid in three instalments. While in London he was entertained by the East India Company and on leaving for India the Court presented Naorozji with a dress of honour. He returned to Surat on board the *Windham*, commanded by Captain Robert Lyon. Naorozji and his father were faithful servants of the Company.[1] In Grose's book [2] there also appears an account of Rustomjee who came to England, a possible allusion to the same man.

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[1] See pp. 14-15 of *The Church in Madras*, by the Rev. Frank Penny; Smith, Elder & Co., London, 1904.

One Gregore Cojamaul, an Armenian Christian, a Native of Ispahan in Persia, who had "for many years resided in India as a Merchant, particularly in the Provinces of Bengal and its Dependencies," arrived in London on 18th August, 1769, with a petition to the Court of Directors of the East India Company. It was presented on the 12th September of that year, on behalf of himself and others; but later, having received no satisfactory reply with regard to their grievances, he petitioned the House of Commons. The grounds for this petition were that his business, as well as that of other merchants, was hindered

> "by the most cruel, destructive, and injurious Regulations, and grievously oppressed by long and cruel imprisonments, and otherwise by the nominal Nabobs, and other servants of the English East India Company in Bengal'

In his petition, Cojamaul stated that he had never been guilty of any breach of the Company's laws or of those of India, and he maintained his honesty throughout—emphasizing the losses he had sustained. He also mentioned that in the first instance he applied to the Nabobs of Bengal for justice, but they had referred his case to the "President of Secret Committees of Calcutta," and it was referred back to the said Nabobs, without any fruitful result. He requested adequate protection from the Committee, because

> "his Person, Property, and Family, as well as the rest of his Nation, will be exposed to greater hardships than before, on account of his having applied for justice in England, unless protected by some effectual Regulations of Government by the British Legislature."

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[1] *See* pp. 98-9 of *History of the Indian Wars*, by Clement Downing, 1737.

[2] *See* p. 124, Vol. I of *A Voyage to the East Indies*, London, 1762. *See* also p. 13, Vol. II of *History of the Parsis*, by Dosabhai Framji Karaka, C.S.I., London, Macmillan & Co., 1884.

Cojamaul was afterwards called before the Select Commitee of the House of Commons to give an account of the circumstances of his imprisonment and embarkation for England. He stated how on the 14th March, 1768, Rajah Bulwantsing's officer arrested him under an order received by the Rajah from Mr. Verelst, President and Governor of Fort William; and how he was taken to different forts, "under forty men" who guarded him. He was put into a boat with another prisoner named Melcomb Phillip, also an Armenian. He further described how he was carried before Mahomed Reza Khan at Murshidabad and subsequently liberated on the 23rd May. After Cojamaul's statements had been taken, he was severely cross-examined by the members of the Select Committee of the House, which was followed by the lengthy proceeding of taking evidence from different persons in connection with the case. It was very difficult to ascertain whether Cojamaul's case was a genuine one. There was no doubt that he had some grievances against the Company; but it was alleged that several people adopted the style of English *Gomusthas* (agents) as a screen for their malpractices in the Nabob's dominions and it was suggested that Cojamaul might have been guilty of such action for trade purposes and was, therefore, arrested. This, of course, he denied.[1]

Mr. C. F. Andrews, in his *North India*,[2] tells us that

> "In 1775 Ganesh Das, who had come down from Delhi as Persian translator and had visited England, was baptized by Kiernander,"[3]

Sir Robert Chambers, the then Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Judicature in Bengal, stood as his sponsor.

The most interesting of all the early Indian visitors to England, were two agents sent by the Peshwa, Raghunath

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[1] *See* Collin 6, Second Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons.

[2] *See* p. 3 of *North India*, by the Rev. C. F. Andrews.

[3] The Rev. J. Kiernander was the first Anglican missionary in Calcutta. He was a Swede by nationality.

Rao, early in 1781, to transact business with the Directors of the East India Company and the British Government. One was Hariman, a Hindu, and the other Maniar, a Parsi. Burke accidentally discovered them living under circumstances rendered very uncomfortable on account of the difficulties they naturally experienced in observing the rules of their caste and religions. Burke's sympathy with foreigners in distress is well known, and he took them down to his country house at Beaconsfield. As it was in the summer, he arranged for them to occupy his green-house, and thus they were able to observe all their religious rites. It is recorded that the two agents spent a very happy time there with Burke and his wife, and that they were visited by several persons of distinction. After their return to India, in 1782, Raghunath Rao wrote to thank him for all the kindness shewn, as is evident from Burke's letter[1] in reply, which was probably written at the end of 1782 or the beginning of 1783. The following quotation may be given :

> "I am extremely thankful for the honour you have done me by your letter, and I hope you will have the condescension to excuse me, if I am not well enough acquainted with your customs, to employ the address that is usual in writing to persons of your rank and character. But I beg you will be assured that I wish to employ the style best fitted to express the highest possible respect to the illustrious and sacred *caste* to which you belong, to the high office you lately held, to your personal merit, and to your great sufferings.
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> "You set too much value on the few and slight services, that I have been able to perform for your agent Hummond Row, and his assistant Mamear Parsi.[2] It was nothing more than the duty which one man owed to another. Hummond Row has done me the honour of being my guest for a very short time ; and I endeavoured to make my place as convenient as any of us are able to do, for a person so strictly observant as he was of

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[1] See pp, 6-8, Vol. III of *Correspondence of the Right Hon. Edmund Burke*, edited by Charles William, Earl Fitzwilliam and Sir Richard Bourke published by Francis & John Rivington, London, 1844.

[2] Burke seems to have misspelt the names of these two visitors which we are inclined to believe are correct in Briggs' version.

all the rules and ceremonies of the religion to which he was born, and to which he strictly conformed, often at the manifest hazard of his life. To this I have been witness. We have, however, sir, derived one benefit from the instructions he has given us, relative to your ways of living; that whenever it shall be thought necessary to send Gentoos of a high *caste* to transact any business in this Kingdom, on giving proper notice, and on obtaining proper license from authority, for their coming, we shall be enabled to provide for them in such a manner, as greatly to lessen the difficulties in our intercourse, and to render as tolerable as possible to them a country where there are scarcely six good months in the year. The suffering this gentleman underwent at first was owing to the ignorance, not to the unkindness, of this nation.

"I am sorry, sir, to inform you that I can give you no sort of hope of your ever obtaining the assistance of the troops you require. It is best at once to speak plainly, when it is not in our power to act.

"Hummond Row is a faithful and able servant of yours, and Mamear Parsi used every exertion to second him. If your affairs have not succeeded to your wishes, it is no fault of theirs."

Briggs tells us in his book[1] that Maniar was a member of the Mancharji Shet family of Surat and that they possess an oil-painting of him. It seems that a fire destroyed all the papers relating to his mission. This accident occurred some forty years before Briggs records it. Inspired by the recollection of Maniar's travels, a few young Parsis of good birth went to London fifty years afterwards for the purpose of gathering information. Shet Mānakji-Karshedji became the best known of these travellers and had the privilege of knowing some of the English nobility.

It must be noted that there is some discrepancy between the statements of Briggs and Lord Morley regarding these two agents. Lord Morley is mistaken in saying in his *Burke* (English Men of Letters series) that they were "two Brahmins"; Briggs' statement on this point is explicit, but he was not quite correct in saying that they were deputed by Baji Rao. It is no wonder that the Peshwa chose a Parsi to accompany his Brahmin agent, for we find that many Parsis were so employed during the early days of the East India Company. At the same time there is no room for doubt that they were sent by Raghunath Rao, as appears from Burke's letter to him, as well as in an article by Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis, who tells us that

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[1] See *The Parsis*, by Henry George Briggs, Edinburgh, 1852.

> "the Maharattas had dealings with the English, the Portuguese and the French and various other nations, and their correspondence spread far and wide not only in India, but it seems that they wrote occasionally even to the King of Great Britain. I was very much surprised to find one of such original letters advertised for sale by a London firm of Oriental Book-sellers. It was a letter from the celebrated Raghoba Dada (Raghunath Raw) Peshwa to the King, George III, soliciting aid of the British. It is said that this Peshwa had sent to England two Brahmins in 1780 to plead his cause and invite support from Sir Edmund Burke and others, and when those Brahmins returned to India they were compelled to pass through a *yoni* made of the finest gold before they could be readmitted into caste."

Mr. Parasnis appears to entertain the same misapprehension, regarding the agents as "two Brahmins"; and we would also remind him that Edmund Burke was not a Knight, but simply the "Right Honourable Edmund Burke," the title by which he was known to the world. Burke was deeply interested in India, and this is indicated not only in the part he played during the impeachment of Warren Hastings, but also in his correspondence with others on Indian affairs. His lively interest in the case of the King of Tanjore and his famous speech on the question of the Nabob of Arcot's debts, on the 28th of February, 1785, are signal proofs of his attitude and sentiments. Although this article is mainly devoted to Indian visitors, we cannot leave out Armenians and Parsis who have made India their land of adoption, though they are racially distinct from us. Lord Morley in his

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[1] *See* pp. 94-5 of the report of the *Indian Historical Records Commission*: Proceedings of meetings, Vol. V.

Burke tells of an Armenian adventurer to England who received kindness from Edmund Burke and made friends with distinguished men. We quote the following extracts:

> "While he (Burke) was still a student at the Temple, or a writer for the booksellers, he picked up a curious creature in the park, in such unpromising circumstances that he could not forbear to take him under his instant protection. This was Joseph Emin, the Armenian, who had come to Europe from India with strange heroic ideas in his head as to the deliverance of his countrymen. Burke instantly urged him to accept the few shillings that he happened to have in his purse, and seems to have found employment for him as a copyist, until fortune brought other openings to the singular adventurer."

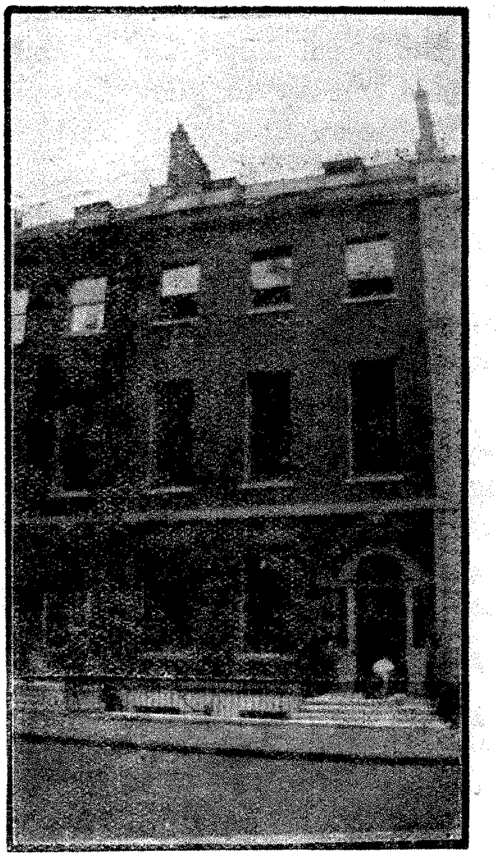
Perhaps our readers may be aware of the fact that the great Apcar family of Calcutta are descended from Joseph Emin, and only a few years ago his great-great-grand-daughter, Miss Amy Apcar, edited his life and correspondence, published first by Thacker Spink and Co., Calcutta, and then secondly by Luzac and Co., London. Much that is interesting will be found about this singular visitor to England in these volumes. A lengthy review of the first edition appeared in the "Statesman," Calcutta, and a very favourable review of the second edition was written by Sir Richard Carnac Temple, Bart., in the "Asiatic Review."

We refer again to Briggs' book on *The Parsis* for passing allusions to other visits paid at a much later date. He writes:—

> "Louis Philippe, King of the French, presented the late Shet Jehangir Nasarwanji Wadiya with a gold medal, for the civilities paid his subjects upon visiting Western India. The late Shet Jījībhai Dādābhāi also received some flattering mark of the approbation of the French Government. Shet Mānackjī Karshedji met with a most distinguished reception from the French monarch, on a visit paid to the Court of the Tuilleries. While at Paris, Mānackji was made a Freemason by the French fraternity."

Of all Indian visitors to England Rajah Rammohun Roy was the most distinguished, and in the words of the late Miss

Mary Carpenter "he was, in the land of his birth, a man greatly before his age." Born on May 22, 1772, at Radhanagore in the Hooghly district, of a very high Brahmin family, he received his early education in Arabic and Persian and studied Sanskrit at Benares. At the age of fifteen he went to Tibet in order to study the religion of that country. His English education began at a later period when he became *Sheristadar* under the Collector at Rungpore, and undoubtedly the official Records of the Collectorate preserve references to his career at that time. Rammohun subsequently settled in Calcutta and his fame as a scholar and reformer had already spread far and wide. He was identified with the introduction of English education into Bengal, and his controversy with the Serampore missionaries about Christianity excited much interest in those days. About that time Lieut.-Col. Fitzclarence (afterwards Earl of Munster) made his acquaintance and valued his talents and learning. Sismondi, in his article in the *Revue Encyclopédique* for 1824, wrote of him "as one of the most virtuous and enlightened of men." The well-known French Orientalist, M. E. Burnouf, and his collaborator, M. E. Jacquet, wrote a short account of the Rajah in their book entitled *L'Inde Française*, which also contains a beautiful coloured portrait. This book contains nothing new about the Rajah. The title of Rajah was conferred upon him by the Emperor of Delhi, that the dignity might the better sustain him in representing the Emperor's cause and grievances against the East India Company to the King of England. It was the Rajah's further purpose to be present in the House of Commons at the renewal of the Company's charter and to present memorials in favour of the abolition of *Sati*. He sailed for England November 19th, 1830, accompanied by his adopted son and two Hindu servants. He landed at Liverpool April 8, 1831, where he was the guest of William Rathbone, and where also he met William Roscoe. The Rajah's arrival in England caused a great sensation. He came to London in time to hear the third reading of the Reform Bill, and Mr. Roscoe gave him a letter of introduction to Lord Brougham. His wide knowledge of the constitutional history of England helped him to estimate the importance of the political crisis. He stayed in London at the Adelphi Hotel and later on removed to 125, Regent Street. His title was recognised by the British Government, though not by the East India Company ; nevertheless the President of the Board of Control presented him to the King and he also had the honour of a seat at the Coronation among the foreign Ambassadors. The Rajah was received at



The House of the Hares at 48, Bedford Square, where the Raja Rammohun Ray stayed for some months during his visit to London.

public functions on various occasions, was present at the final decision of the Privy Council in favour of the abolition of *Sati*, and successfully carried through his negotiations on behalf of the Emperor of Delhi. At this time the Rajah lived in the house of the Hares at 48, Bedford Square (a photograph of which appears on p. 93). He took the opportunity of paying a visit to the French capital, where "he was more than once at the table of Louis Philippe." A visit to Italy was abandoned on account of his ignorance of the Italian language. He was not only well-versed in some of the oriental languages but knew also Hebrew, Greek and Latin, and by reason of his learning and reforming tendencies, was rightly styled by Dr. George Smith the Erasmus of India.

At the invitation of Miss Kiddell and Miss Castle, he stayed with them at Stapleton Grove, at Bristol, early in September, 1833, accompanied by his two Hindu servants, his adopted son Rajaram having preceded him. Shortly after his arrival he was seized by a fatal illness, partly due to mental over-exertion; at times for hours together he had been holding discussions with learned divines. He died September 27, 1833, and was first interred in the garden at Stapleton Grove; when Dwarkanath Tagore visited Bristol he arranged for the removal of the Rajah's remains to the Arnos Vale Cemetery, near Bristol, on the 29th May, 1843, where he erected a beautiful monument over his friend's grave.

The memory of the Rajah Rammohun Roy is greatly revered by Indians, for as Mr. (now Sir) Surendranath Banerjee reminded his audience on the anniversary of the Rajah's death in 1904

> "Rammohun Roy was not only the founder of the Brahmo Somaj, and the pioneer of all social reform in Bengal, but he was also the father of the constitutional agitation in India."

It is much to be regretted that there is no fitting memorial of this great son of India except a library founded in the suburbs of Calcutta only a few years ago. Its first subscriber—

it is interesting to note—was a Bombay man! The Rajah's house in Upper Circular Road, the scene of so many years' activity, is now occupied by the constabulary of the borough. When one considers all the beautiful buildings, avenues and monuments that grace the "city of palaces," one is filled with shame that *only a library* bears the name of so great a man.[1]

It is interesting to record that after the Rajah's death, his adopted son, the young Rajaram,[2] came to London and applied to Sir John Hobhouse, the then President of the Board of Commissioners,

> "requesting that the opportunity may be afforded him previously to his return to his native country of acquiring an insight into the mode in which the public business is transacted in England."

In August, 1835, he was appointed for one year as an extra clerk at a salary of £100. This arrangement continued for nearly three years. Rajaram then expressed a desire to return to India and the Board allowed him his salary up to the termination of the full third year, with a

> "donation of £100, in consideration of his diligence in the discharge of his duties and the circumstances under which he accompanied his father Rammohun Roy to this country and is now about to return to India." [3]

Mr. William Foster, who was the first to mention Rajaram's employment under the Board, read a paper before the Royal Historical Society, November 16, 1916, in which he quoted an extract from the Diary of Sir John Hobhouse, dated March 18, 1837, referring to a dinner party given by him at which the youth was present. He goes on to say:

> "The Rajah is really a very superior young fellow. He gave us a very entertaining account of a walking tour in Scotland. On one occasion

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[1] The main facts of this sketch are derived from Miss Carpenter's "Last Days in England of the Rajah Rammohun Roy"; also from Miss S. D. Collet's "Life of Rammohun Roy."

[2] Rajaram was originally an orphan and put under the care of the Rajah by Mr. Dick, a civil servant of the Company.

[3] See "Minutes of the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India," Vol. 6, *India Office*, London.

he went up to an old woman who was working in a field and asked his way; the woman raised her head suddenly, and exclaiming: 'The de'il! the de'il!' ran away."

The next visitors to England were the agents sent by the deposed Rajah Pratap Singh of Satara, whom the Government of Bombay had found guilty of treason. He appealed in vain to the Governor of Bombay, the Governor-General at Calcutta and the Directors of the East India Company, and he then decided to send Syed Meer Afzil Ali to England on his behalf in 1838. Presently, however, finding that this Moslem agent was not furthering his cause, he sent Yeswant Row Rajey Sirkey, Bhugwont Row Wittul, and Rungo Bapoojee on the same errand—agents who were badly treated by the Bombay Government. During their stay in England their funds became very low as the Rajah was unable to send their remittances regularly, the allowance paid to him by the Company not being sufficient even for his own maintenance. They, therefore, left for India on 1st July, 1841. On reaching Malta Rungo Bapoojee received a message from the ex-Rajah Pratap Singh to return to England and resume his application for his master's rights. He managed to secure the assistance of Mr. George Thompson and Mr. Joseph Hume, but even so for twelve years he vainly tried to obtain redress for his master. Rungo Bapoojee was given an allowance of Rs. 2,000 monthly, the greater part of which was spent in forwarding his mission. It is worth noting that this Maharatta agent was totally ignorant of the English language, but realizing its importance for the object of his mission, he learnt it so quickly that he was able to conduct his business efficiently. During his stay in England the unfortunate Rajah died at Benares on October 14, 1847; but notwithstanding this, Rungo Bapoojee continued his efforts on behalf of the Rajah's family with great assiduity until his return to India in 1853. It is painful to record that such faithful service was not rewarded by success. Irony was not wanting to the situation, for the East India Company paid his passage back to India and gave him a sum of £2,500. His English friends too presented him with a silver plate, prior to his departure for India, and among the graven signatories were Joseph Hume, John Bright and James Grant Duff. We must pay a final tribute to the memory of Rungo Bapoojee in the words of Major B. D. Basu:

> "He deserves our admiration for his earnestness and sincerity of purpose and the fidelity he showed to his unfortunate master. He should be considered the first and the pioneer Indian agitator in England, and his failure shows the futility of so-called 'constitutional agitation' on the part of Indians for their rights and privileges." [1]

Dwarkanath Tagore was the first member of the Tagore family to come to Europe. He was a distinguished citizen of Calcutta and identified himself with all the public movements of the day—charities too numerous to be mentioned here. Before proceeding to Europe in 1842, he received, on the 8th of January, a well deserved recognition of his public services from his fellow-citizens in the Calcutta Town Hall. He sailed in the *India*, accompanied by his nephew, Chunder Mohun Chatterjee, his medical attendent, Dr. MacGowan, besides Permanund Moitra, three Hindu servants and one Mahomedan cook. On his way to England he visited Cairo, Alexandria, Malta, Messina, Naples and Rome. At Rome he was received by the Pope and also met Prince Frederick of Prussia and Mrs. Somerville, the astronomer. Dwarkanath attended a service at St. Peter's and was much impressed by the beauty of the building. He next visited Florence, Venice and Trent, and then travelled through Germany, staying in some of its famous towns. He observed that the education of Italy was backward when compared with that of Germany, which was very advanced at that time. Dwarkanath arrived in England on June 9. He stayed with his suite at St. George's Hotel, Albemarle Street. While in London, among the well-known people he met were Sir Robert Peel, Lord Fitzgerald, Lord Brougham, the Marquis of Lansdowne and Lord Palmerston. The Court of Directors entertained him at a public dinner. He visited both the Houses of Parliament and was received by the Queen and the Prince Consort and on the same occasion was introduced to the Duchess of Kent and the Duke of Wellington. He witnessed a Royal review by special invitation of the Queen and was also favoured with another invitation to dine at Buckingham Palace. The Queen presented him with three golden coins which had been minted that very day. Dwarkanath made the acquaintance of Mr. Lockhart who gave him copies of his life of Burns and that of his father-in-law Sir Walter Scott. The Lord Mayor invited him to the annual banquet and proposed his health in flattering terms. He visited some provincial towns in the industrial districts on his way to Edinburgh, where he arrived in August. There he was admitted by the Town Council as "a Burgess and Guild brother." After leaving Scotland, he went to Liverpool and Manchester and then proceeded to Bristol to see the tomb of his friend, Rajah Rammohun Roy. On his return to London he received a Royal command to lunch at Windsor Castle, and Her Majesty and the Prince Consort consented to sit for their full-length portraits, which were afterwards presented by Dwarkanath to the Town Hall of Calcutta.

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[1] See *Story of Satara*, by Major B. D. Basu, I. M. S., published by the "Modern Review" Office, Calcutta, 1922.

He arrived in Paris on October 18th, and was subsequently received by Louis Philippe at St. Cloud, where he also met King Leopold and the Queen of Belgium. While he was in Paris the Court of Directors presented him with a gold medal. He returned to India at the end of the year 1842.

On his return home Dwarkanath met with considerable opposition from the Brahmin community, who wished to excommunicate him on account of his having transgressed caste rules whilst in Europe; but he boldly refused to perform *prayaschitta.* It would not be out of place to mention here that even to-day, in the year 1924, notwithstanding our political progress, we find that some of our educated young men still perform this rite secretly on their return from England, for fear of social ostracism. In the days of Dwarkanath Tagore the rules of society were, of course, much more stringent than they are now, yet, in spite of this fact, he effectively asserted his independence. Our younger generation may well take a lesson from the example of this famous son of India.

Dwarkanath lost no time in resuming his various public activities, and did much to promote female education. He contributed liberally to a fund for the encouragement of medical studies in Calcutta, and undertook to defray the expenses of two students, Soorjo Coomar Chuckerbutty and Bholanath Bose, who went to England for higher education with two other students (whose expenses were borne by the Bengal Government) they accompanied him on his second voyage to Europe. Dwarkanath Tagore sailed on March 8th, 1845, by the P. & O. Steamer "Bentinck," having as travelling companions his youngest son, Nogendranath Tagore, Nabinchandra Mukopadhyay, his physician, and his Private Secretary. On his arrival at Naples Sir William Temple received him at the English Embassy, and he was also presented to the King, "who conversed with him in fluent English." During his second visit to Paris he was again received by Louis Philippe and was invited to attend a magnificent fête at Versailles, about which the following story is told:

> "The crowds of people from the country were all eager to know who the distinguished individual was whom their King had delighted to honour. M. Fuett, the Secretary to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, inspired by the fun and frolic, said that the distinguished stranger was the King of the Celestial Empire. On receiving this information, the people cried 'Mon Dieu,' and expressed themselves thankful they had seen such an exalted personage in that part of the world."

He lived in great style in the best hotel in Paris; and once he gave an evening reception, to which the King was invited and a number of dignitaries and their wives. The rooms were decorated with valuable Cashmere shawls, one of which was presented to each of the ladies on their taking leave.

Professor Max Müller made his acquaintance through the introduction of Professor Burnouf, who presented Dwarkanath with a copy of his own translation of the *Bhagavata-Purana.* He started for London on June 24th, 1845, and stayed again at St. George's Hotel. He was once more received by Queen Victoria, who presented him with miniatures which had been promised on his previous visit. He gave several parties at the hotel and at one specially brilliant gathering there were present among other distinguished guests the Count D'Orsay, Charles Dickens and William Makepeace Thackeray.

Dwarkanath crossed over to Ireland during the autumn of 1845 and made an extensive tour in that country. He had the opportunity of discussing with Mr. Gladstone the question of the admission of Indians into the British Parliament. At the end of June, 1846, at a dinner party given by the Duchess of Inverness, a sudden attack of illness came on which proved to be the beginning of a fatal illness. He was removed to Worthing for a short time, where he received every attention from his English doctors and attendants. We learn that he had in all seventeen attendants, besides one Secretary, an interpreter, a German musician and one physician, Dr. Martin. He always wore magnificent Indian clothes and was the cynosure of all eyes. His suavity of manners and piquancy of conversation won all hearts. Dwarkanath's physical condition gradually became worse and when it was found that there was no chance of recovery, his physicians removed him to London. Many distinguished personages constantly visited him, and the Duchess of Inverness asked to receive constant reports as to his condition. He died on August 1, 1846, a few days after his return to London, and was buried in the Kensal Green Cemetery. His funeral was attended by many distinguished people; and numerous expressions of regret at his demise were received, notably one from the Duchess of Somerset, who wrote a very sympathetic letter to his son Nogendranath Tagore. A special meeting was convened in the Town Hall of Calcutta, on December 2nd, 1846, under the presidency of Sir Peter Grant, to express universal regret at his untimely death, as he enjoyed the affection and esteem of Indians and Europeans alike. An interesting tribute to his character and memory was paid by Mr. James W. Furrell in his book on *The Tagore Family*,[1] where he says:

> "A lively sympathy with the spirit of modern progress made the participation of his fellow-countrymen, as far as their circumstances might permit, in the blessings of Western civilisation, the great object of his efforts. Next to his benevolence, perhaps, the most conspicuous feature in his character was his moral courage—a quality which was equally apparent in his private and in his public life."

Mr. F. H. Brown, in an article on "Indian Students in Great Britain" in the *Edinburgh Review*, January, 1913, tells of the Rev. Dhunjeebhoy Nowrojee, a Parsi, who came over to England under the auspices of Dr. John Wilson in 1843. He was a student at the Free Church College, Edinburgh, and was ordained there in 1846. He also mentions that another student, a Moslem named Wuzeer Beg, followed shortly afterwards. He was ordained and then went to Australia as Presbyterian minister.

Reference has already been made to four Bengali students who came over to England in 1845—two of them at the expense of Dwarkanath Tagore and the others at the expense of the East India Company. Of these students Soorjo Coomer

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[1] See pp. 52-3 of *The Tagore Family*; published by Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., London, 1882. *Other authorities* are the *Memoir of Dwarkanath Tagore* by Kissory Chand Mittra and the *Reminiscences of S. N. Tagore*, written in Bengali.

Chuckerbutty was the most distinguished, and we give a more detailed account of his life and career. He was born in January 26th, 1826, at Konükshar in the Dacca district. His parents died during his childhood and his eldest brother Brojonath brought him up according to the traditions of a well-to-do Brahmin family. Soorjo Coomar showed great intelligence at a very early age and learnt Persian, Arabic and Sanskrit in a remarkably short time. He began the study of English after completing his thirteenth year. At the age of sixteen, not receiving much encouragement from his family in the pursuit of higher education, Soorjo Coomar ran away from home and walked all the way to Calcutta. He endured great hardships on the way, as he was penniless, and he tried to obtain suitable work to pay for his education. Although relatives repudiated him and withheld all help, Soorjo Coomar was undaunted in his aims. It was at this time that he came under the influence of some Christian missionaries,[1] who admitted him into one of their schools, which enabled him to pursue his studies until he became qualified as a medical practitioner. He applied for a post carrying a salary of Rs. 150 per month, but the East India Company rejected his application on racial grounds. About this time he was selected to be a recipient of one of the scholarships offered by Dwarkanath Tagore, and he determined to sail for England under the guardianship of Dr. Henry Goodeve in 1845. Young Chuckerbutty was full of zeal and desire for knowledge, but the rules of his religion stood in the way, and he had either to set these aside or renounce his object; after a great struggle he decided to go to England and was afterwards baptized in London. Dr. Henry Goodeve proved a real friend to him at this period and indeed throughout his life. Soorjo Coomar joined the London University College Hospital as a medical student and passed the M.R.C.S. Examination in 1848, along with Bholanath

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[1] See pp. 80-81 of the "*Life of Dr. Alexander Duff.*"

Bose,[1] Dwarkanath Bose and Gopal Chunder Seal, who accompanied him to England, and were the recipients of the other scholarships mentioned above. On their return to India the last-named three were appointed to the Uncovenanted Medical Service. Sir Benjamin Brodie, the then well-known Surgeon of London, gave them the highest praise on the result of their work, from which they were diverted neither by the temptations of London nor by its social attractions.

Dr. Chuckerbutty did not return with the others, and at the close of a brilliant career took the M.D. degree in 1849, being the first Indian student to obtain it at the University of London. After his return to India he joined the Uncovenanted Medical Service in Bengal and served from 1850-4, when he resigned. In January 1855, at the first open Competitive Examination in England, Dr. Chuckerbutty stood first out of more than one hundred candidates and was thus the first Indian to enter the I.M.S. On his return to Calcutta he became an Assistant Surgeon and in 1855 was appointed to the Staff of the Medical College, becoming Surgeon in 1867. He soon rose to be one of the most popular doctors in Calcutta, particularly as a specialist in Heart and Lung diseases. He married a country-woman of his, who had been educated in Calcutta in an English School. Seven sons and three daughters were the fruit of the marriage, and of these the three daughters and two sons survive.

In 1864 he was appointed Professor of Materia Medica at the Medical College and Second Physician to the College Hospital; and in 1873 he became Surgeon Major. For eighteen years he worked strenuously, without taking any leave, until in 1874 his health completely broke down and he was sent to England in the month of August. But it was too late; the

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[1] He held several responsible positions and served during the Sutlej Campaign. He wrote *Principles of Rational Therapeutics*, published in 1877 and also *The Recognizant Medicine or The State of the Sick.*

English climate proved too cold and damp for him and he succumbed from congestion of the lungs on September 29th, 1874, just a month after his arrival in England. He was buried in Kensal Green Cemetery in London. Dr. Henry Goodeve, who had survived him, was present at his favourite student's funeral.

Dr. Chuckerbutty died professing his belief in the One Eternal Father as manifested in all forms of life. The intense influence which Christianity had exercised over him in his early years had passed away, and in his maturity the faith of his ancestors had reasserted itself, in a modified and purer strain; he worshipped God in Nature and approached His throne unaided by a mediator. He left behind him many medical works. It may also be noted that to his knowledge of Oriental languages he added the study of Latin, Greek, French, German and Italian. He travelled extensively in Europe in quest of medical knowledge; and his visit to Paris is recorded in a volume containing the names of notable Indian visitors. Dr. Chuckerbutty is very often known as "Goodeve"[1] Chuckerbutty.

The next Indian whose visit has to be recorded was the exiled Rajah of Coorg, who, after spending some years of deportation at Vellore and Benares, received permission from Lord Dalhousie to visit England with his young daughter in 1852. The Princess was baptized as a Christian by the desire of the Rajah the same year, and Queen Victoria stood as godmother. In 1860 the Princess married Col. John Campbell, but died four years later. The Rajah died in London in 1863 and was buried in Kensal Green Cemetery.[2]

Azemoolah Khan came to England in the year 1854, as the agent of the Nana, to appeal to the British Government against the decision of the East India Company concerning the pension of his master. But unfortunately his mission proved a failure. On his way home, Azemoolah stayed at Constantinople and also visited the trenches during the Crimean War and observed the effect of the Russian fire, which caused him to remark that he thought "the Allies would not be able to capture Sevastopol."

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[1] See p. 253 of *The Last Days in England of the Rajah Rammohun Roy.*

[2] See p. 660 of *The Oxford History of India*, by Vincent A. Smith,

He took a prominent part during the Mutiny of 1857, with the Nana, Tantia Topee and others, and he was "the chief channel of communication between the Mahomedan and Brahmin conspirators."[1] We are told that he was of humble origin but being a clever man he obtained a post as teacher in the Government School at Cawnpore. He was well-acquainted with English and French and could write and speak fluently in both those languages. In proof of this we quote an extract from Lord Roberts' Letters[2] that

> "While searching over the Nana's Palaces at Bithur the other day, we found heaps of letters directed to that fiend 'Azimula Khan' by ladies in England, some from Lady—, ending 'your affect. Mother.' Others from a young girl at Brighton named—, written in the most lovable manner. Such rubbish I never read, partly in French, which this scoundrel seems to have understood; how English ladies can be so infatuated."

Another brilliant student from Calcutta, Rajendra Chandra Chandra, came to England about 1856. He entered the Faculty of Medicine at University College, London, and was a student during the sessions 1856-58 as a non-matriculated student. There is an interesting note about him in the Report of the College Council issued in February, 1857:

> "The Council have pleasure in reporting that the example set by some Indian natives of Bengal a few years since, has been followed on a wider scale by natives of the Bombay Presidency. Another student, with a Diploma from the Medical College of Calcutta, Chandra Chandra, has this year entered to the practice of the Hospital and to several classes of the Medical Faculty. The opening to competition of the appointments in the

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[1] See *History of the Mutiny*, by Sir George Forrest.

[2] See p. 120 of *Letters written during the Indian Mutiny*, by Frederick Roberts; Macmillan & Co., 1924.

> Civil and Army Medical Services of India, has probably had
> inducing the friends of these Indian students to send them to
> for the completion of their education."

He obtained the Fellowes' Medico-Clinical Gold
summer term of 1857.

Dr. Chandra entered the Indian Medical
January 27th, 1858, and became Professor of Mat
at the Calcutta Medical College and was also Secor
to the College Hospital, retiring as Brigade-S
Lieut-Colonel on October 18, 1891. He settled
on his retirement and lived for some time in L
Devonshire Terrace, Hyde Park. His wife was
lady of high birth, but he died without issue
on the 14th of December, 1895, at the Home Hosp
Square. The administration of his estate was
1897 to Messrs. Burton and Dalston, solicitors
acting for Mohendra Lal Chandra and Sreemut
money Dassee, brother and sister and heirs at
deceased; they were living in India. The estate
at £20,007-17-9.

Mr. Comroodeen Tyabjee of Bombay was the
to be admitted to the Rolls of the Law Society, Lo
25th of November, 1858. It is singular that he
become a solicitor instead of joining one of the In
to qualify as a barrister.

In 1860, the Rev. Philip Joguth Chandra Ga
received his first training in the Christian religio
Dall in Calcutta, came to England. He had prev
two years in America, where he pursued his theolo
and also lecturing and preaching in various c
public halls on the claims of the Indian mis
Gangooly preached at the Unitarian Chapels in L
Manchester and afterwards went to Dublin. In a
the *Inquirer*, London, September 22, 1860, is m
great effect of his preaching. After a recent int

Dr. J. Estlin Carpenter of Oxford on the subject, he wrote to the present writer as follows:—

> "In 1860 a young Brahmin named Gangooly came to this country from the United States. He......brought an introduction to Miss Carpenter at Bristol from an American friend. He preached in the Chapel at Bristol in which Dr. Lant Carpenter had delivered the funeral sermon for the Rajah, and Miss Carpenter wrote that she had never seen the Chapel so full as on those two occasions. Her conversations with him planted the first seeds in her mind of her subsequent work for Indian female education."

Later on Mr. Gangooly visited the Continent in company with the Rev. William James of Bristol. Before leaving India he had to encounter all sorts of difficulties, and when he returned his people made every effort to bring him back to Hinduism.[1]

Ganendra Mohun Tagore was the second member of the Tagore family to visit England. He was the only son of the well-known lawyer, Prosonna Coomar Tagore, who liberally contributed to the funds of the Calcutta University, which owed much of its early prosperity to his benefactions. Ganendra Mohun came under the influence of Dr. K. M. Bannerjee and the Rev. Lal Behari Dey, and especially of the latter, with whom he used to discuss the great subject of religion, and as a result of this he became a Christian in the year 1851. This was a great shock to his father, for he was the only son, and in those days it was a great trial for a high caste Hindu to have a Christian son. His baptism caused a profound sensation in the Hindu Society of Calcutta. The admirable courage he showed in carrying out his convictions, the sacrifice he made for what he believed to be truth, and his action subsequent to his baptism were remarkable. He had arrived at his conviction of the truth of Christianity after many years' inquiry, and after wide reading, thus showing his independence of character and his habit of sifting evidence for himself. His Hindu wife was a source of great spiritual help to him, but she did not live to see the happy consummation of his wishes with regard to his baptism.[1] Ganendra Mohun married a second time into the family of Dr. K. M. Bannerjee.

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[1] See p. 273 of the *Life and work of Mary Carpenter*, by J. Estlin Carpenter.

He came to England in 1859 and entered at Lincoln's Inn on the 28th September of that year, at the age of 33, and was called to the Bar on the 11th of June, 1862. He was thus the first Indian to become a Barrister. Ganendra Mohun was also the first Indian to hold a Chair in a British University. The Council of University College, London, as appears by the report of 1861, instituted for him a Professorship of Hindu Law and the Bengali language, which he held from 1860 to 1866.[2]

While in England in 1863, Ganendra Mohun wrote a paper on Buddhism. In this he traced the origin of the religion, its propagation in Asia, and explained its position with regard to other world-religions. He pointed out the characteristics of the different creeds of Buddhism and the consequent variations in the doctrine of *Nirvana*. He considered that

> "Buddhism is the root idea, the *prima stamina* of Brahmanism, and that it has only broken loose through the fetters and environments of a theocracy that originally surrounded that Brahmanical religion......"

On June 2nd, 1863, he read a paper on *The Formation and Institution of the Caste System—the Aryan Polity*, before the Ethnological Society. He treated this complicated subject with precision and judgment, dwelling on the fact that caste had survived all attacks upon it for many centuries. Neither the Mohammedan conquest nor the British rule had broken it down to any real extent. Its influence was too deeply rooted in the domestic and social life of the people. Ganendra Mohun had an excellent English style; his learning and his power of expounding what he wished to impart were unexcelled.

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[1] See *Church Missionary Intelligencer* for December, 1851: and also *Missionary Magazine*, Nov. 1851, published by L.M.S.

[2] University College possesses a plaster bust of his father, presented by Mr. Arthur Grote.

A pamphlet of Ganendra Mohun's, entitled *Thoughts of a Christian Brahmin on the position and prospects of religion in India*, was published by Messrs. Hamilton, Adams & Co., London, in 1871. It was written in London and dedicated to Indian Christians in the faith that it would prove in the future "the sound foundation upon which India will rear the fabric of her future glory."

He had intended to describe the religious history of India in five different periods,—the Vedic, Puranic, Buddhistic, Monotheistic (Mohammedan) and Brahmoism. Apparently this intention was not fulfilled, as only one pamphlet has been found, *i.e.*, the one describing the religious mind of the Hindu during the *Vedic* period.

In comparing the *Vedic* religion with others he calls attention to the following points. In the first place it is a book religion, in this resembling the Hebrew, though without the historical element, for the Hindu concentrated his mind on problems of creation and existence and ignored time. Then, comparing the Indian and the Hebrew theocracies, Ganendra Mohun pointed out that both Hindus and Hebrews were exclusive nations, but that of the two, the Hebrew (owing to the Babylonish captivity), came more into contact with other races, and therefore became subject to international influences. The position of the Father in the *Vedic* system was much higher than in Greece and Rome, where the relation of Father to Son was of a despotic character. In India it was founded on a mysterious principle of Union between Father and Son. This unity of Father and Son is a beautiful feature in Hindu policy, exemplifying the perpetuation of the Eternal Self. From his Christian standpoint, Ganendra Mohun considered that the true type of Indian womanhood was still in the future. In both creeds, marriage is sacramental, and therefore based on religion, and regarded as an eternal fellowship.

Monogamy was a characteristic feature of both. English legislation having given expression to these principles, he looked forward to the time when "this combined action of law and religion would lead towards the emancipation of Hindu womanhood."

Turning to State policy, Ganendra Mohun wrote:

> "The ancient government throughout India appears to have been formed of distinct municipalities, bound up into one polity by common sentiments in religion and doctrine. The Mohammedan conquerors introduced a political Unity under one Emperor."

Speculating on the political future of India he wrote:

> "There can be no question that the future political condition of India is one of profound interest to a Christian philosopher. Civilization and religion may naturally be expected to follow in the train of the material triumphs of a Christian power in India. And in every point of view, whether as statesman or missionary, one cannot but wish that the faith adopted by the Hindus may unite them more firmly to regenerate their national institutions instead of destroying them; and thus a Christianised and resuscitated India may offer a purer and more exalted allegiance to the British Crown; and the inheritance of material power and grandeur may be consecrated to Him who has been so bountiful in endowing India with wealth and gifts of Nature."

It is interesting to conjecture what would have been Ganendra Mohun's political opinions at the present juncture, and how far allegiance to alien rule in perpetuity would have been endorsed by him.

Ganendra Mohun Tagore was best known from his successful attempt to upset the scheme of the will of his father, who attempted to disinherit him and had his will drawn so as to provide what was practically equivalent to an English estate-tail, *i.e.*, he gave the property to his nephew Maharaja Jotindra Mohun Tagore, and after his death to his son, and so on; on failure of Jotindra Mohun's line the property was to go to Shooshendra Mohun Tagore for life and then to Raja Sourendra Mohun's line successively and his sons and heirs male, as in the case of Jotindra Mohun; and in default of such heirs to the male issue of Lalit Mohun Tagore in a similar way.

In bringing his suit Ganendra Mohun contended that, according to Hindu Law, the gift must be to a "sentienti person," an expression which would exclude a person unborn at the time of the vesting of the gift, so in the case of a will no one could take any interest if he was unborn at the time of the death of the testator.

This contention was upheld by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in 1872. As Jotindra Mohun was alive at the time of the death of Prosonna Coomar Tagore, on the 30th of August, 1868, he took a life interest and no more in the property. So on the death of Maharaja Jotindra Mohun Tagore and Raja Sourendra Mohun Tagore the property went to the line of Ganendra Mohun, as heir to Prosonna Coomar Tagore.

It is a subject for regret that so enlightened a father as Prosonna Coomar Tagore should have disinherited his son because he followed his convictions in the matter of faith. Ganendra Mohun Tagore's noble character was one of which any family might be proud; and the genuineness of his Christianity deserves the grateful recognition of all his fellow Christians.

Satyendranath Tagore came to England in 1860 with Monmohun Ghose. They were the first Indian candidates to seek admission to the Indian Civil Service, but the latter failed in the examination. Tagore thus, in 1864, became the first Indian member of the I. C. S. Monmohun Ghose joined Lincoln's Inn on the 12th November, 1864, and was called to the Bar on the 6th June, 1866. He was followed by Michael Madhusudan Dutt of Gray's Inn who was called to the Bar on the 17th November of that year. W. C. Bonnerjee was admitted to the Middle Temple on the 19th November, 1864, and was called to the Bar on the 11th June, 1867.

Phirozeshah M. Mehta (afterwards *Sir*) of Lincoln's Inn was called to the Bar on the 30th April, 1868. T. Palit (afterwards *Sir*) became a member of the Middle Temple on the 20th November, 1867, and was called to the Bar on the 10th June, 1870. In 1868 Romesh Chunder Dutt, Surendranath Banerjee (now *Sir*) and B. L. Gupta came to England to compete in the Indian Civil Service Examination and all passed successfully. Lal Mohun Ghose joined the Middle Temple on the 19th November, 1870, and was called to the Bar on the 7th June, 1873. These were, in no sense of the words, "early visitors," but they were modern student-pioneers, and from that time onwards there have come to England many others from different provinces. The impression they made as students on the minds of their teachers was very favourable. The late Dr. John Pollen, C.I.E., a great friend of India, refers to the high opinion held of Romesh Chunder Dutt and others when noticing in the *Asiatic Review* the *Report* of the Lytton Committee on Indian students.

Keshub Chunder Sen came to England in 1870, where he was already well-known as a reformer and leader of the Brahmo Somaj. During the course of his visit he made the acquaintance of many distinguished men, among others John Stuart Mill, Professor Max Müller and Dean Stanley. He also addressed influential meetings on religious subjects with very great eloquence. As an illustration of this we quote an extract from the well-known French writer, James Darmesteter, who in his book entitled *Les Capitales Du Monde : Calcutta,* speaks thus about Keshub Chunder :

> "D'une éloquence entraînante, armé de toutes les ressources de la pensée européenne et de toutes les magies de L'imagination Orientale, il fit une religion de ce qui n'était jusqu'alors qu'une secte philosophique."

He had neither the scholarship nor the courage of his great forerunner Rajah Rammohun Roy, but he had a very magnetic personality. Before returning to India Keshub

Chunder had the honour of an audience with Queen Victoria at Osborne.

There were very few Indian Princes who visited Europe before 1870 and we have already inserted the story of one. We find that in the cemetery of Père Lachaise in Paris the Queen of Oudh and her son were interred in the No. 2 Mohammedan ground; and also at Cascine near Florence is a monument erected to the Rajah of Kolahpore, who died on the 30th of November, 1870, at Florence, where his body was cremated.

We have now completed our account of the early Indian visitors to England, and, as readers have doubtless noticed, a few later visitors have been included who were the pioneers of the modern student. The biographical notices have necessarily varied in length according to the wealth of material available; there is no claim that they are complete, and what has been done but arouses the hope that someone will undertake the task of writing a book on the subject in much greater detail. It should prove a valuable addition to the historical study of India.

The comforts of modern travelling tend to make us forget the physical courage shown by these early visitors; but even more remarkable was the moral intrepidity which enabled them to break through caste prejudices then almost inviolate and to face the unknown. In one case at least, that of Dwarkanath Tagore, refusal to be readmitted into caste logically completed the assertion of independence. Time and the influence of Western ideas have since done their natural work in widening the boundaries of freedom till in our day the desire to obtain a University degree either in Great Britain or in America—or the wish to attain higher proficiency in the learned professions, are taken as matter-of-course sanctions for breaking down the old restrictions. It should be remembered that the earlier Indian minds which sought education in Western lands belonged to the best families and in their own homes had received the seeds of Western culture in good soil—seeds which were ready to spring to fruition under suitable conditions; and the very perils they dared made them eager to assimilate what was best in English life and thought. The stimulus of risk no longer exists, but the call to service was never more inspiring than it is to-day when India is looking for a new Renaissance: that is the great inspiration for our Indian youth in our time. One mistake the early visitors made—they were too susceptible to Western influences; they did not always maintain the dignity and worth of their own culture. Perhaps modern Indian students are in less danger of that fault: they are increasingly aware of the value of their own learning and tradition. It is theirs to make a new amalgam of all the best that can be offered either by East or West.

As for the past the question may be considered what has our contact with England brought us? How far have our literature, our art, our industry, our politics, been enriched by the life and thought of the West? The student who rightly measures and appraises that, will have gone far to estimate the mutual indebtedness of India and England. That fact once ascertained, it remains to acknowledge the debt and repay it in the spirit of trust and good fellowship.[1]

HARIHAR DAS

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[1] This article is the outcome of a conversation with Mr. William Foster, C.I.E., who not only gave valuable advice but supplied much useful information on the subject. The writer is also indebted to Mr. S. C. Hill, late of the Indian Educational Service, for some helpful suggestions concerning two or three important visitors; to Mrs. P. L. Roy, who supplied notes regarding her father, the late Dr. Chuckerbutty; and to the late Satyendranath Tagore, who very kindly sent a copy of his "Reminiscences" containing many references to the life and thought of his contemporaries. The "Life of Ramtonu Lahiri and the then Society of Bengal," by Pandit Sivanath Sastri, gives much interesting material (not to be found elsewhere) about the doings of many well-known Bengalees.—H. D.

SATYENDRANATH TAGORE—HIS LETTERS—II

(6)

MONTPELIUS,
WORTHING, SUSSEX.
25th August, 1862.

MY DEAR MEZDADA,

I have come to spend a few days at Worthing by the seaside. It is a place of the greatest importance to me in more points than one. You are aware that it was here that my grandfather[1] spent the last few days of his existence. A severe attack of illness came on him in the month of March, 1847. A trying month it is to all Indian constitutions. By the advice of his physician Dr. Martin, he came and took his lodgings here on June 27th, in a hotel called the Marine Hotel, where he remained nearly for a month.

I called the other day on the proprietress of this Hotel, who was present at the time. She kindly gave some particulars connected with his sojourn in this place. He had 17 servants with him, among whom were two native servants. He had with him besides a secretary, one interpreter, a German musician, and another gentleman, who with his physician Dr. Martin would make a party of five. These were his constant companions.

My uncle[2] and Nobin Baboo were not living with him at the time, but came to see him only once or twice. My uncle had a green rich Indian shawl on him, and he was much admired for his shining black eyes. But I could gather nothing more of him.

My grandfather's health began rapidly to decline. He grew extremely restless. He used to get up every morning as early as 5½ or 6 and go out for a drive, then come back and perhaps take a little sleep afterwards.

He took nothing but a little rice and curry prepared by his servant Hooly (হুলি) and a little orange jelly, and no wine except claret.

He always put on a beautiful Cashmere shawl, and ladies used to assemble at his doors to have an opportunity of seeing him. The Duchess of Cleveland used to visit him every day, and the Duchess of Inverness used to write to him as often. Mrs. Browne, the sister of my informant, was then the proprietress of this hotel, and he used to take a glass of claret with her religiously every day. What the meaning of this was could only be guessed. It might be it was his desire to enjoy peace under her roof. He was extremely amiable, and behaved graciously to all that called on him. Though he was very ill, the equanimity of his mind never failed him. He never complained of anything and was always cheerful. Even the lowest servant had a share in his widespread bounty. He kept to all the little habits and customs of his country. He used to dress in the Indian style. He was never without his *hucca,* which Hooly (হুলি) used to prepare for him.

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[1] Dwarkanath Tagore.

[2] Nagendranath Tagore.

He had a tray of tortoise-shells, divided into 8 compartments, which were filled with different sorts of spices. He seemed to suffer much from heat, slept always with his windows open, had a regular bath every morning, and was very fond of ice.

Hooly, his faithful servant, waited on him day and night. He always slept outside the door of his bedroom, and sat near him on a kind of mat, tickling the soles of his feet for hours together. His health began gradually to fade. He knew that his end was approaching, and when any one would ask him how he was, with that affability and kindness peculiar to him, he would answer—"*I am content.*"

Prostration gradually came on, and it was thought safe for him to remove. He left this place on the 17th of July and died at St. George's in London, on the 1st of August, 1847.

With his death fell to pieces the mighty fabric that he reared up with his own hands. And now we are as we are.

And now, Mezdada, are we to cement together the falling members of our house and conquer by uniting, or divide and fall? You lived with us from the days of your infancy as one of ourselves. You were called Mezdada and I am still called Shezdada. We sat and walked and played together, without knowing any separation. * * But now that the clouds have rolled away, let us not gather them again. Let us be forgetful of the past and forgiving to one another, and God will join our heads and hands together for our common good.

We are going to leave Worthing at the end of this month, and from the 1st September we are to reside in the country with one Dr. Giles for sometime, and prosecute our studies. We are going on well now. Do not suppose for a moment that we are squandering away our time. We have to pay particular attention to English language and history and literature—to all which are allotted 1,500 marks. The English is our forte, and you can imagine our position, when we have to fight with English students on their own ground and with their own weapons. We have, besides, taken up Sanskrit and Arabic, to make up for Classics. * * Write to me the most minute particulars as to how you are getting on now. * * * You are mistaken if you think that we were living with Gyanender. We took separate lodging for ourselves at Notting Hill Terrace No. 7. Don't you know that?

(7)

WORTHING, SUSSEX,
2nd September, 62.

MY DEAR MEZDADA,

I sent you a photograph of myself and Mon in a group. I wish to know what you think of it. Which of the likenesses is the more faithful of the two? Do you perceive any difference in our features and appearance from what you remember of us, when we left you? I have only one request to make to you. Send to me in exchange a photograph of yourself, either in a family group or single. Will you satisfy me in this my request? I wish so very much to see how Goonender[1] is growing now. Has the fattening process ceased in his constitution, or is he still growing? I am very happy to receive your long letter of the 20th July. I wish you would flood me with such letters as these.

I cannot extract from Bordada by repeated requests a single letter of more than four wide-written pages. * * * *

I was very much amused to read that portion of your letter in which you have written how the abolition of the Supreme and Sudder Courts has spread a havoc among the attornies and articled clerks.

I am going to leave Worthing to-day for London and thence to proceed to the country and prosecute our studies there. There is a hard work remaining for us to do, but there is no turning to the right or the left.

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[1] Gaganendra's father.

(৬)

(Translated from the original Bengali
by his daughter Indira Devi.)

38, Kensington Park Gardens, London.
26th December, 1862.

My dear Mezdada,

You must not think me wanting in affection for not having written to you so long. Our days are now flowing on so like a current that there is hardly anything to write about. As long as we don't pass our examination you must think we are dwelling in some sphere other than this earth. I was delighted to get your photograph this time. I think you are looking even more rotund than when we saw you last. The expression of your face is more serious than usual, as if you are absorbed in the cares of governing some extensive kingdom. However it is not a bad likeness, and the sight of your photo makes me feel like meeting you. What you have written about having lost your father so early, and having suffered so much misery in the whirlpool of life, reminds me of many unpleasant events of the past. * * * * One is tempted at times to say with Damayanti—when King Nala forsakes her in the forest, she thus laments—

> Apāpa-chētasām pāpo ya-ēvam kritavān Nalam,
> Tasmād dukkhataram prāpya jīvatwasukhajībikām.

I believe that we shall all come together again, and spend our days in happiness and goodfellowship. God grant it may be so. * * *

The Judge Saheb says it would be advisable for me to prepare myself for the Bar as well, so that even if I am disappointed in the Civil Service Examination, instead of returning empty-handed, I could become a member of the Bar. I am thinking of writing to my father about the matter, let us see what he says. Merry Christmas has come and gone yesterday. We have taken a week's leave, which we shall spend in Brighton. * * * * * *

EXTRACTS FROM THE LETTERS OF MANOMOHAN GHOSE

(1)

GALLE,
SEAVIEW HOTEL,
31st March, 1862.

MY DEAR MEJDADA,

We have now come to Ceylon—the famous and fabulous লঙ্কা. To what a great distance we have left you. A sheet of water extending to more than a thousand miles, intervenes. We have bade farewell to India, and we know not when we shall see you all again. From the time that you left us, we have not been able to regain our ease and tranquillity. You might have accompanied us a little further than the Garden Reach, and then might have returned by the after packet-steamer 'Celerity,' as did Sir Bartle Frere, leaving his wife to proceed to England.

The parting between Sir Bartle and his wife reminded me forcibly of our parting scene of the morning of the 23rd March, when the shores of India receded from us, and you were all left behind. From that time we are all alone. For two or three days we had to suffer very much from sea-sickness—that hydra-headed monster that marks as its prey every new-comer at sea. We came to Madras four days after we left Calcutta, but could not venture to go on shore.

It is a goodly sight to see Madras from the steamer—all its splendid buildings are displayed before us, as if purposely to allure us to land. We were very unfortunate not to be able to shake hands with India when we had to bid her adieu. In four more days we have now come to Galle. It is a goodly treat for us to alight on land after these eight days of tedious sea-voyage. S. N. T. and I am now once again in the fair land of Ceylon, but all its gold is now turned into dust.

There are no traces of the doings of হনুমান or sovereignty of Ravana. The white people have got hold of the romantic land and turned it all into matters of fact.

As a specimen of the Hotel delicacies I send you the enclosed paper, you will see the "eye-openers" and "midnight-solacers" and what not.

Please show it to Brahmanund when you see him. We are now away from you all, but I shall never forget the wanderings and chitchats that graced our ছাত every evening, and how many words and acts of kindness, (that) I received from you every now and then. Oh, for the day which shall again unite us. * * * *

(2)

Our address is
care of Mr. Pratt,
27, Coleman Street.

9, NOTTING HILL TERRACE,
BAYSWATER,
LONDON, W.

Saturday, 17th May, 1862.
11½ a.m.

MY DEAR GONOO BABŪ,

You must excuse me for not writing to you earlier. The last Bombay mail will carry home the intelligence of our having safely reached England, the place of our destination. One month and ten days have brought us to a distance of 13,000 miles from you all. You are all doubtless anxious to hear from me all the particulars of our voyage, but as I shall not be able to describe them in the compass of a letter, you must wait for a better opportunity, when you will read my account either in print or MS. On the whole our voyage has been a very adventurous one. You will read with interest when I describe all the difficulties under which we were placed. It is just a fortnight we have arrived in London; within this, we have paid a visit to Brighton, where we spent 3 days at Mr. Pratt's house. We cannot be sufficiently grateful to Mr. Pratt for his kindness towards us. We are agreeably surprised to see the degree of interest Mr. Pratt takes for us, and we cannot but come to the conclusion that if there is any sincere friend of the natives in England, that man is Hodgson Pratt.

We paid a short visit to a village called Burgess Hill, near Brighton, and were quite delighted to see the beautiful scenery all around. The day after we returned from Brighton, the Marseilles mail came in, and you cannot imagine the degree of pleasure I felt when, returning one evening from a walk, I found on my table 2 letters for me, and one packet containing the *Mirror* of 1st April. These two letters were from yourself, and there was another from "this gentleman" to the address of my friend. I opened them with great pleasure, but was a little sorry to find that the packet of the "Indian Empire" you kindly sent me, and your letter to my friend was missing. We are both at a loss to find out the cause of our not receiving those two packets. We do not despair yet, as the Southampton mail is expected to reach London to-morrow morning, and it may be that the letter and the packet have been put into the other steamer by mistake. It is hardly necessary on my part to express to you my feelings of gratitude for your kindness in writing to me and sending me the "Empire." This is but one of the many instances of kindness I have received at your hands, and which I can never forget. I had read at Mr. Pratt's the number of the "Indian Empire" you sent me, before your letter reached me. I was quite disgusted to read the account of the brutal outrage committed near Khoolna. Please let me know the final result of the case.

You will learn from Satyender's letter to his brother that we have been very courteously received by Mr. and Mrs. G. M. Tagore. We are very grateful to them for their kindness towards us. * * * * He is constantly advising both of us to adopt the English costume, and to call ourselves Mr. instead of Baboo. I will tell you all particulars when I see you—but alas! when is that time to come?

Mrs. Tagore is a very sensible and kind lady, and it is she that guides Gyanender Mohun as it were. During this week we went to three most important places, *viz.*, The British Museum, the Kensal Green Cemetery, and the Crystal Palace at Sydenham. What I saw in the first I cannot describe, there is nothing in the world which I did not see there. I saw the ancient remains of the time of Sesostris, Alexander, etc., and things which a Bengalee can have no idea of. When I entered the British Museum, the thought irresistibly came to my mind that so long as Bengalees sit idly at home, there is no hope of their improvement. During a fortnight I have seen things which 50 years' residence in India would not have shown me. At the British Museum and Crystal Palace I have seen wonders, which a home-loving Bengalee can have no idea of. My dear friend, I cannot describe to you all that I saw in these two places. In the Crystal Palace we saw the model of the Alhambra Court of Spain, which was a sight well worth seeing. One part of the palace is called the "tropics," and what do you think that is? When we entered there, we felt we were quite in a tropical climate, that part is always kept warmer by wonderful hot-water tubes. We there saw the কলাগাছ and all sorts of our beloved trees. What particularly pleased us was a small mangoe-tree with blossoms. We also saw কচু and several sorts of Indian trees, to our great surprise and delight.

Now I must come to the other place. I mean the Kensal Green Cemetery. The very name of the place will of course fill your heart with a sort of melancholy reverence for the great man that "sleeps there his eternal sleep." When we entered the gate, we were told by the door-keeper that the tomb of your great ancestor was in the front, but not knowing how to find it out, we asked the man to point it out, who very kindly complied with our request; and what do you think did we see? The very sight of the tomb, though it excited feelings of reverence for the dead man who lay underneath, at the same time made us uneasy, not knowing how to reconcile the description we had heard at home, with what we then saw. We were both disgusted to see the imposition that has been practised by those who had hands in the matter. We had heard that there was a handsome tomb with an inscription in Bengalee, but we found out that all this *was utter and sheer fabrication,* and downright falsehood. It is nothing but a mere block of stone (not marble) about three cubits in length, with no inscription except the following words :—

D. T.

DWARKA NATH TAGORE OF CALCUTTA.

Absit: 1st August, 1846.[1] (?)

These were the only letters miserably engraved on that piece of stone, which is surrounded by iron chains, and has four cypress trees, almost dying, on its two sides. We saw several other tombs and beautiful monuments, but all the time we were uneasy, owing to the thought that came to our mind, *viz.*, that the great man whose example we had followed in coming to England, and to whom only we were indebted for that visit, was occupying a most insignificant tomb, while those who were his courtiers, were lying under beautiful marble tombs with handsome inscriptions on them. I have been told that your uncle[2] had to pay thousands of rupees for that tomb, but the tomb, I learnt, did not cost more than £ 2 or 20 rupees. In short it was the most ugly tomb we saw in the whole cemetery. Now the question comes, what has been done with all that money? Mr. Pratt and Gyanendramohan are of opinion that the matter should be enquired into, and proper means should be adopted, if possible, to get the money back. Will you relate all this to your uncle, and with my best respects tell him that I am quite disgusted with this treacherous affair. You can also ask Nobin Baboo for an explanation, can you not? Where is the জন্মকাল (?) in the inscription as he said? I enclose in this letter a small branch of the cypress tree which I brought from your grandfather's tomb, which please show to everyone of your family. Very likely I will write a letter to your respected uncle by the next mail; in the meantime you can ask him to let us know without delay whether he should like to have his father's tomb changed and a worthy inscription placed in it, and what amount of money he will like to spare for the purpose. If he will decide the matter soon and let us know by the middle of July, we can have a new tomb erected on the 1st August, the anniversary of his great father's death. Gyanendramohan says that it is proper to call a meeting at Kensal Green of the friends of your grandfather, who are in London, and then to put on the inscription. I should think that a fitting inscription in Bengalee composed by your uncle will do very well.

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[1] Does not tally with corresponding letter of Satyendranath (No. 6) but this is most probably the correct date.

[2] Maharshi Devendranath.

My good friend, I have your letter of the 8th ultimo before me, and I read the latter part of it with great pleasure. I do not know when the day will come, when we shall walk on the "roof," as we used to do every evening. I remember with pleasure all the merry chats we had every evening, and the days when we were concocting plans of coming to England, but lo! the influence of time is such that our dreams have turned stern realities. We have both come out of home to lead the life of exiles for some years. The distance is so great, that at times I feel very much for home, but we must now make up our minds to meet all adverse circumstances that may take place, firmly relying on the protection of Him who is our everlasting friend, our guardian and protector till eternity.

Kindly remember me to *Bordada*, Hemender and all our friends at Calcutta, and pray write to me by every mail, the route *viâ* Marseilles being the most expeditious one. We look with great anxiety for the mail day, so do not disappoint us. We saw Sir Edward Ryan this morning, he received us very kindly and desired us to go to him to-morrow. What are you doing now? It is now 8 P.M. with you. You are gone to the zemindary I fancy.

* * *

Review

Examples of Indian Sculpture at the British Museum: Twelve Collotype Plates selected by Laurence Bingon with an Introduction by William Rothenstein and a Foreword by Sir Hercules Reed: The India Society, London.

Some of the most significant specimens of Indian Sculpture in the British Museum, comprising some from Java and Ceylon, are carefully selected and faultlessly reproduced in the present publication. The short introduction by Prof. W. Rothenstein, written with the deep insight of an artist who realizes the contribution of the plastic arts in India to the world of creative form as being of outstanding value, gives in a few words the summary of the most vital, therefore most peculiar, but at the same time universal moments in the evolution of Indian sculpture.

The threefold aspect of movement and rest as states of the inner and cosmic life have been visualised in the Dancing Siva, in the Saint of South Indian Workmanship who approaches *samadhi* while still being agitated by ecstasy, and in the complete *samadhi* of the Buddha image the intensity of the artistic experience being so persistent that the artist can afford not only to maintain it in the elaborate finish he imparts to his figures, but moreover in the profusely playful jewellery which he sensitively places over their smooth limbs. Being alive to the underlying reality as well as to the passing charm of appearance the fossilised canons of priestly tradition never could altogether suppress India's artistic inspiration.

If, therefore, plaster-casts of the master works of Indian art be added to the originals in London collections, to embody the conception of life and form, which in infinite variety rambles around the walls of every Indian temple, their educational value would be great and a new orientation of the understanding of art, as begun by Degas and Rodin, would be the result. We may note that the Indian Museum in Calcutta has already taken considerable steps in this direction.

The list of plates, however, in the present volume has to be revised: Pl. III ascribed to the Gupta period VI ct., cannot be much anterior to the XI ct. while Pl. V, dated V-VII ct. has to be advanced at least into the XIIth ct. (the reasons being given by me in *Modern Review*, May, 1924).

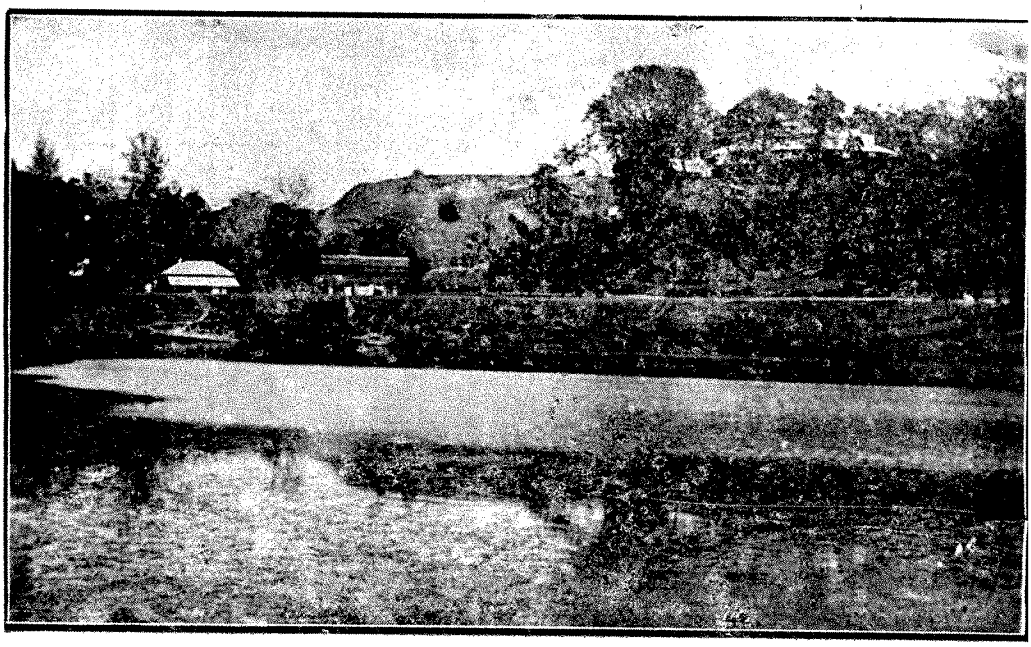
St. K.

CHITTAGONG

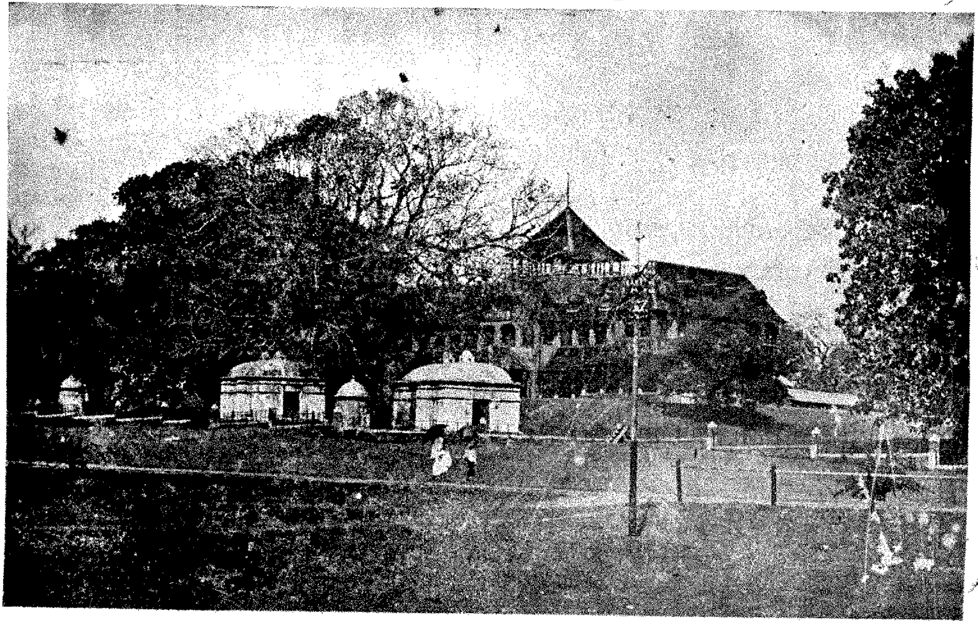
(By courtesy of the Bharatvarsa)

The Tiger Pass

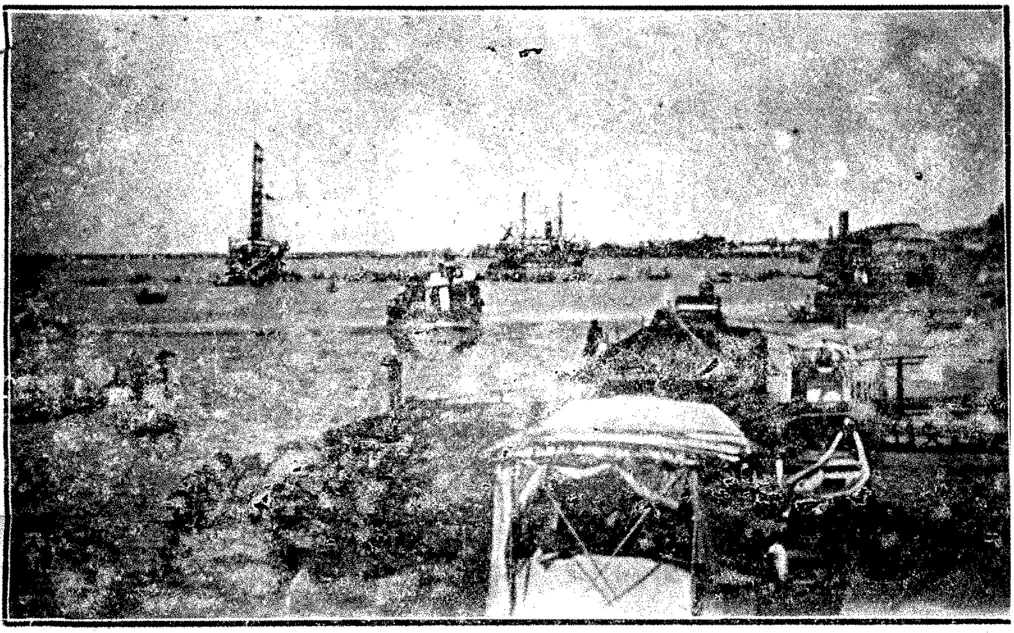
The Tiger Pass—another view



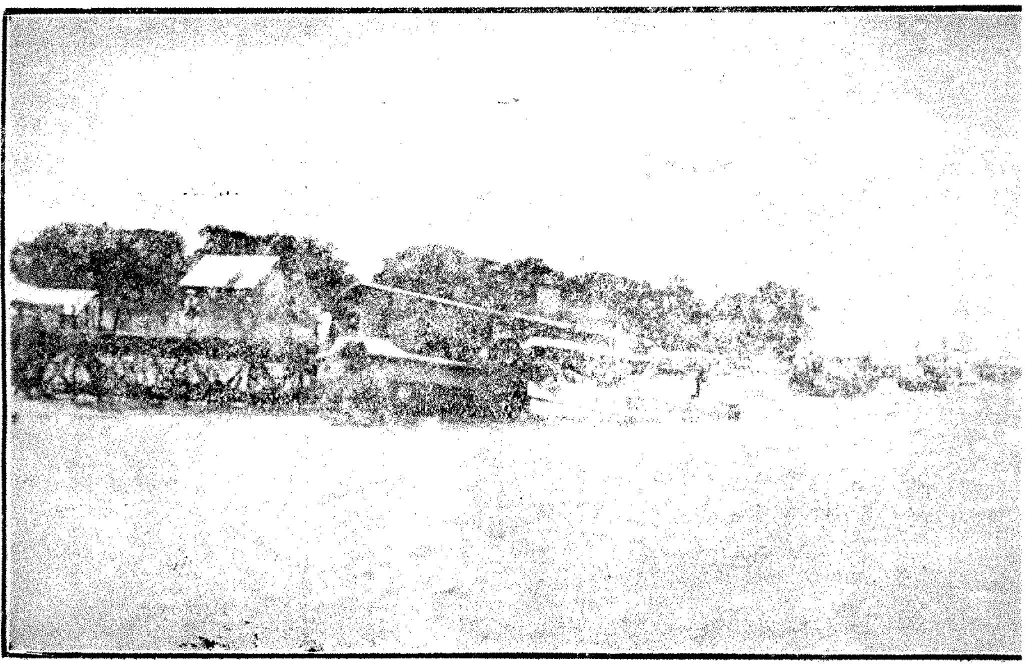
On the Way to the Circuit House



The Circuit House



The Chittagong Port



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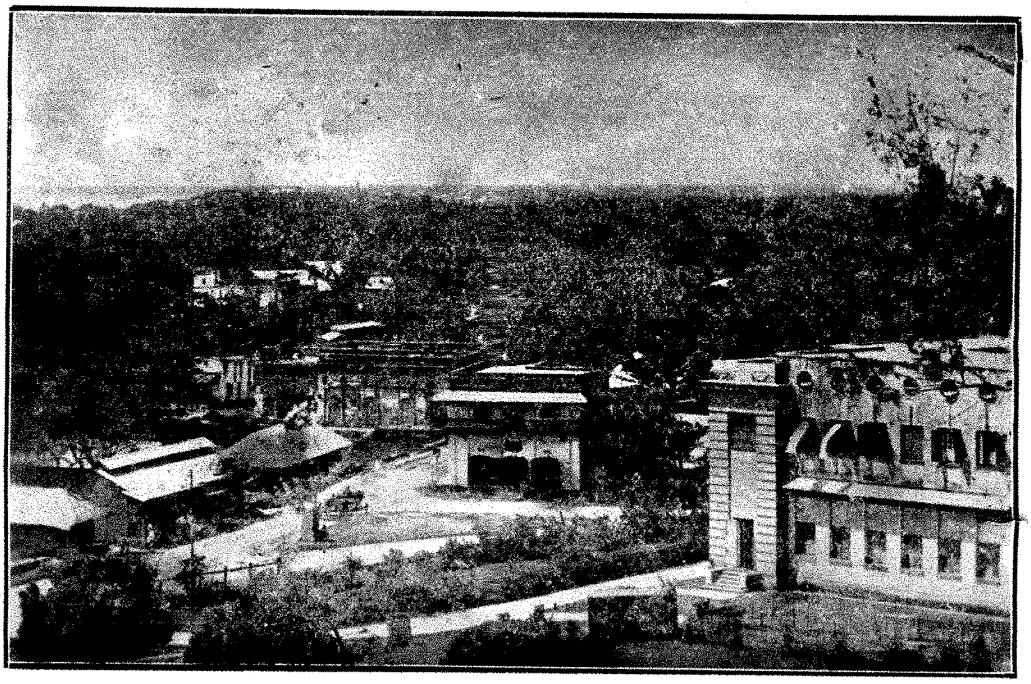

From the *Fairy Hill*

The "Bayazid Bostami" Mosque

BENGAL IN OLDEN TIMES (1707-1757)

(An Economic Survey)

Aurangzib's death, a landmark in Indian history.

The death of Aurangzib (4th March,[1] 1707) forms an important landmark in the political and economic history of India. The Mughal Empire did not last much beyond his son's reign. The provincial rulers declared themselves practically independent one after another, while the feeble successors of Aurangzib became mere puppets in the hands of their intriguing ministers.

Disruption of the Mughal Empire and rise of new powers.

The period from 1707 to 1757 witnessed on the one hand the gradual decline of the power of the Great Mughal, and on the other, the ascendency of new powers, which were soon to fight for political supremacy over the whole of India. It was during this period that the hardy Marathas, in spite of their reverses at the hands of Aurangzib, reached the zenith of their power and seemed for a time to throw all other 'country powers' into the shade. But during these fifty years, an adventurous band of foreign merchants gained a firm footing on the Indian soil and within the next fifty years they became the undisputed masters of this country.

Almost uninterrupted peace in Bengal.

The economic and political history of Bengal during the first half of the eighteenth century differs however in an important respect from that of the rest of India. Bengal enjoyed almost uninterrupted peace under her powerful Nawabs, while the rest of India was ravaged by wars and invasions.

Strong rule of Murshid Quli.

Murshid Quli Khan [2] gave absolute peace to the province and saved it from the troubles which arose in other parts of Northern India on account of the frequent wars between the rivals to the

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[1] The date is according to the new style *i.e.*, the reformed Calendar.

[2] Murshid Quli became the Dewan of Bengal in 1701. In 1704 he became also the Deputy Nazim and in 1713 Farrukshiyar conferred on him the united offices of Nawab Nazim and Dewan.

Imperial throne. He restored internal order, vigorously suppressed robbers and administered impartial justice.

His revenue reforms.

He was the author of several financial reforms which considerably increased public revenue. His hands fell heavily on the zamindars, if their revenue fell into arrears. In many cases, the zamindars were dispossessed and their lands given to revenue farmers. In his revenue settlement of 1722, Murshid Quli created a new administrative division called the *chakla*, which was placed under the control of an *amil* who was ultimately responsible for the collection of revenue of the entire *chakla*. But this settlement was merely a revision of Shah Sujah's settlement of 1658 and it raised the land revenue on khalsa lands only by 11¾ lacs of rupees, *i.e.*, an increase of 13½% during a period of 64 years. Murshid Quli reduced also the amount of *jagir* land and transferred 10¼ lacs of rupees from *jagir* to *khalsa*. His revenue roll stood at Rs. 1,42,88,186.[1] This amounted to an increase of about 9% over the total revenue of 1658.

Objectionable features of the revenue settlement of 1722.

Such a small increase in the state demand does not seem to have caused much hardship to the tenants. But Murshid Quli's revenue settlement contained two objectionable features which in later times caused much oppression on the ryots. Murshid Quli was the first Nazim to levy openly the abwabs. It is true that abwabs of various kinds had been levied on the ryots by zamindars and subordinate officers, before the time of Murshid Quli. But such impositions were never, at least, openly supported by the government. In fact "these imposts were again and again declared by the Muhammadan sovereigns to be illegal and forbidden within their realms but they soon appeared with some changes in their items." Murshid Quli's impositions,[2] though trifling in amount, established however a dangerous precedent and the increased impositions by his successors caused much hardship to the ryots. Murshid Quli was also the first to introduce the farming system on an extensive scale in Bengal.

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[1] Fifth Report (Firminger's edition), Vol. II, pp. 120, 186 and 191. The above figures refer to the revenue of Bengal only. For the total revenue of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa in different years between 1594 and 1723, see Sarkar's India of Aurangzib, pp. li, liv, lviii.

[2] Rs. 258,857—Fifth Report, Vol. II, pp. 120 and 239.

Murshid Quli's encouragement of trade and English Company's *firman.*

Murshid Quli was too keen a financier not to realise the advantages he could derive from foreign commerce. He therefore "gave every encouragement to foreign merchants, especially to the Moghuls and the Arabians, from whom he only exacted the prescribed duties of 2½ per cent. and did not permit the Custom-house officers to take more than their regulated fees." But the Nawab looked upon the English with disfavour and resented their exemption from the payment of duties in return for a small annual sum. He made it clear to them that either they must pay duties like other foreign merchants or send him frequent and costly presents. To avoid such uncertain demands, the English Company sent an embassy to Delhi in 1715 for the confirmation of its privileges. It succeeded in 1717 in obtaining a new *firman* from Farrukh-siyar. Murshid Quli agreed to observe the first article of the *firman,* which confirmed its right to trade in Bengal, free of customs, in return for an annual sum of three thousand rupees.

Dastaks to apply only to Company's imports and exports.

Now the question arose whether the Company's *dastaks* or passports could be used in the internal trade of the province. The Nawab insisted that they should apply only to such goods as were either imported or intended to be exported by sea. He argued that if the English were allowed to use *dastaks* in inland trade, that would not only ruin all other merchants but also cause a great loss of public revenue. To avoid the Nawab's hostility, the Company thought it wise to accept his interpretation. The Company itself was not however, directly affected by this limitation of the use of the *dastak,* because it did not take any part in the inland trade of the province. But this limitation made its goods liable to be examined by the Nawab's officials to discover whether they had really been imported or were actually intended to be exported by sea. This power of search, as the Company complained, was sometimes used to extort bribes. But, as we shall soon see, the fault was not always on the side of the Nawab's officials.

Increase of the Company's trade and the growth of Calcutta.

The confirmation of the right to use *dastaks* proved however to be a valuable privilege which greatly facilitated the Company's trade and Calcutta soon became a great centre of commerce. There flocked the Hindu, Muhammadan, and Armenian merchants to carry on their business under the protection of the British flag. By 1756 the trade of Calcutta exceeded one million pounds sterling per annum and "some fifty vessels or more annually visited its port." With the progress of trade, the population of Calcutta rose from about twenty-two thousand in 1706 to more than one hundred thousand towards the close of Aliverdi's rule.

Hughly still the chief port of Bengal.

But Hughly still remained the chief port of Bengal. Captain Hamilton, in his New Account of the East Indies, describes Hughly as a place of great trade because "all foreign goods are brought hither for import and all goods of the product of Bengal are brought hither for exportation." The imperial customs house was at this place, so that both sea-borne and inland trade had to pass through it, to pay customs duty or to get free passes. The volume of trade which passed through Hughly may be realised from the fact, "that in 1728 *Sair Baksbandar*, *i.e.*, export and import dues on foreign merchandise, yielded Rs. 2,21,975 at the rate of 2½ per cent., on the value of the goods and with the tolls on 9 gaunges or subordinate stations, realised 2,42,014 sicca rupees."

The trade of the Company's servants increased also

Private trade of the Company's servants.

during this period. As the Company paid them low salaries,[1] they improved their fortunes by private trade. But as they were not allowed to carry on any trade with Europe except in such articles as precious stones, they engaged in the coasting trade of India and of other Asiatic countries.[2] The Company's servants were part or sole owners of small ships of a hundred tons or so which traded from the Bay to Surat and Persia.

Company's occasional interference with its servants' trade.

But the Company sometimes interfered with this coasting trade of its own servants. The regular trade of the Company was with Europe. At the beginning of every year, the Company engaged ships of 300 or 400 tons burdens and sent them to India, laden with bullion (mainly silver), hardware, metals and woollen goods. The Company's ships generally arrived in Bengal in July or August and unloaded their goods into the Calcutta warehouses. They took instead the annual investment (*i.e.*, the purchase of goods for exportation to Europe), in piecegoods, silk and saltpetre, and sailed to England at the beginning of the next year. On some occasions, however, the Company's ships, coming from Europe, were detained a year [illegible] of Bengal and then they were employed [illegible] which formed the hief source of t [illegible] nts.[3]

English free merchants.

The Company's servants had, however, soon to face the competition of stronger rivals in their coasting trade. These rivals were the English free merchants[1] whom they had managed to drive out of Bengal at the beginning of the eighteenth century, "upon the pretext of avoiding political complications which might arise from the acts of irresponsible persons." In 1713, the Court of Directors allowed the free merchants to trade in Bengal and from this year their number increased in Calcutta.

Abuse of *dastaks*.

But Company's servants had one great advantage over the free merchants, namely, the use of the Company's *dastaks* for their own private trade. It is doubtful whether such uses of the Company's *dastaks* were ever contemplated by Farrukh-siyar's *firman*. The *firman* does not refer at all to the trade of the Company's servants. The use of *dastaks* to cover their export and import trade, though tacitly allowed by the country government, was however objectionable on two grounds. Firstly, it defrauded the native government of its revenue and secondly, it gave the Company's servants an unfair advantage over all other merchants. The use of *dastaks* was liable also to further abuses. As early as 1705 we come across instances of the Company's *dastaks*
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Nawab's duties in the above year, they fixed on another which had for a long time been practised by the banians, that is, covering their trade by the Company's *dastaks*, obtained chiefly from the Company's junior servants. "Various were the terms of this illicit compact; sometimes the Company's servant was entitled to ⅛th, ¼th or ½ of the profits of the trade so covered." At other times, the Company's *dastak* was sold at prices ranging from Rs. 25 to Rs. 200 each. Captain David Rannie in his paper on the "Causes of the loss of Calcutta, dated August, 1756" rightly observes, "the injustice to the Moors consists in that, being by their courtesy permitted to live here as merchants, to protect and judge what natives were their servants, and to trade customs-free, we under that pretence protected all the Nabab's subjects that claimed our protection, though they were neither our servants, nor our merchants, and gave our dustucks or passes to number of natives to trade custom-free to the great prejudice of the Nabab's revenue, nay, more, we levied large duties upon goods brought to our districts from the very people that permitted us to trade custom-free." One of the reasons put forward by Siraj-ud Dowla for attacking the English in 1756 was "that the British had abused the privileges of trade granted them by their *firman*."

Profitable export trade of the Company, on account of few trade rivals.

Such abuse of *dastaks* gave Murshid Quli's officers a very good excuse for interfering with the Company's trade. But inspite of such interference, the Company's export trade was very profitable at this time. It is on record that goods bought in Calcutta in 1711 for £43,000 could be sold in France for more than £150,000.[1] The chief cause of this prosperous trade was that with the exception of the Dutch, the English had no other strong commercial rival. The Portuguese who had monopolised the greater part of the foreign trade of Bengal during the first half of the 17th century, had hardly any trade at this time. The Danes never had any important share of the foreign trade of Bengal. Their poverty compelled them to abandon their factories along the Hughly early in Murshid Quli's administration. The French trade in Bengal also languished till 1731 when Dupleix was appointed Intendant of Chandernagore. Captain Hamilton wittily remarks that "a pretty little church to hear Mass in ......is the chief business of the French in Bengal."

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[1] The enormous profit on the sale of Calcutta goods in France in 1711 was partly due to the War of the Spanish Succession (1702-1713) which had caused a scarcity of those commodities in France.

Introduction of pilot service and careful finance.

The English Company was also very far-sighted in introducing an efficient pilot service as early as 1668, which proved very useful in carrying on its goods through the shifting sand-banks of the Hughly. It was also more careful about the financial side of its business than its rivals. The French Company, inspite of its brilliant military exploits, was almost insolvent from the very beginning. In fact, the ultimate victory of the English over their commercial rivals was to a considerable extent due to the superiority of their financial strength.

Company's currency difficulty affected its trade.

But one of the chief obstacles to the progress of the English commerce in Bengal at this period was the currency difficulty [1] of the Company. This difficulty arose from the fact that coins struck at different Indian mints or at the same mint in different years, were not regarded as coins of the same value. They circulated at different rates and thus caused considerable difficulty in business transactions. At Madras, where the Company had its own mint, such variations in the value of the rupee did not cause much trouble. There, 89½ oz. of dollar silver was always convertible into a little more than 218 rupees and these Madras rupees were accepted without difficulty, not only in Southern India, but also in Bengal, so long as the Mughal Court was in the South. But with the transfer of the Mughal Court to Northern India after the death of Aurangzib, the native government in Bengal was no longer in need of Madras rupees for sending the annual revenue to the Imperial Court. It therefore refused to accept Madras rupees and their value fell in Bengal. It should be noted here that up to 1756 A.D., silver formed the chief import of the English Company not only to Bengal but also to other parts of India. But the fall in the value of the Madras rupee prevented the Company from securing as many current rupees in Bengal with its imported silver as it formerly could. Thus, it began to lose, not only in its trade in imported silver but also in having less money to finance its exports from Bengal.

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[1] Wilson, Vol. II, Part I, pp. liii-liv.

Company's attempt either to establish a mint or to secure the use of Nawab's mint.

The Company therefore desired to establish a mint at Fort William, but the Mughal Emperor refused to grant such a violation of his sovereign rights. The Company then asked and obtained from Farrukh-siyar the privilege of using the Nawab's mints in Bengal free of customs-duty for three days in the week. This privilege proved however to be of little use because Murshid Quli Khan refused to recognise it. The currency difficulties of the Company continued long after Murshid Quli Khan's rule. Thus in a letter dated 8th February 1753, Mr. Watts writes that the scheme of establishing a mint in Calcutta "would be immediately overset by Jugat Seth, he being the sole purchaser of all the bullion that is imported in this province by which he is annually a very considerable gainer."

Rise of the banking house of Jagat Seth.

Jagat Seth was the title of the head of a great banking house in Bengal, which rose in importance during Murshid Quli's rule. Manik Chand, the founder of this house, established a banking agency in Bengal in Aurangzib's reign. Murshid Quli used to send the annual revenue to Delhi through the agency of Manik Chand whose brothers had *kuthis* in Agra and Delhi. Manik Chand died in 1722 and was succeeded by his nephew Fateh Chand, who, for his valuable services to Farrukh-siyar before his accession to the Imperial throne, was rewarded by the latter when he became the Emperor, with the title of Jagat Seth. Fateh Chand died in 1744 and was succeeded by his two grandsons the eldest of whom, Mahatapchand, received the title of Jagat Seth.

Prosperity of this house during Aliverdi's rule.

Under Mahatap Chand, this banking house reached the zenith of its prosperity. Nawab Aliverdi Khan highly respected Mahatap Chand and when in 1749 A.D. the English factory at Kasimbazar was surrounded by the Nawab's troops, owing to the dispute between the English and some Armenian merchants, the English propitiated the Nawab by paying him through the Seths 1,200,000 rupees.[1] The European Agency Houses, the earliest type of European banking institutions in India, had not yet been started, and the English and other foreign Companies used to borrow money from the Seths. "Their riches were so great that no such bankers were ever seen in Hindustan or Deccan ; nor were there any bankers or merchants that could stand a comparison with them, all over India. It is even certain, that all the bankers of their time in Bengal were either their factors or some of their family. Their wealth may be guessed by this only :—In the first invasion of the Marhattas and when Moorrshedabad was not yet surrounded by walls, Mirhabib with a party of their best horse, having found means to fall upon that city before Aliverdi could come up, carried from Jagat Seth's house two crores[2] of rupees in Arcot coin only and this prodigious sum did not affect the two brothers, more than if it had been two trusses of straw. They continued to give afterwards to the

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[1] Long's Selections, p. 19.

[2] Stewart puts the figure at three lacs of rupees.

Government, as they had done before, bills of exchange called dursunnies[1] of one crore at a time."[2]

Changes in revenue system by Sujah Khan.

Murshid Quli died in 1725 and was succeeded by his son-in-law Sujah Khan. He restored the zamindars, who had been imprisoned by Murshid Quli to the management of their lands. This is probably the reason why his rule has been described as "one of peace and good government." But his revenue administration was in one respect more oppressive than that of his predecessor. He imposed new abwabs, which led to an increase of about 18% over the revenue demanded by Murshid Quli.

Prosperous French trade.

Sujah Khan's rule witnessed the rise and decline of the Ostend Company. It was also during his rule that the French trade in Bengal reached the zenith of its prosperity under the able management of Dupleix. "He (Dupleix) has not occupied the Intendantship (of Chandernagore) for four years, when, in place of the half dozen country boats, which, on his arrival were lying unemployed at the landing place, he had at sea 30 or 40 ships a number which increased before his departure to 72 engaged in conveying the merchandise of Bengal to Surat, to Jedda, to Mocha, to Bussora and to China. Nor did he neglect the inland trade. He established commercial relations with some of the principal cities of the interior, and even opened communications with Thibet."[3]

Usurpation of Aliverdi.

Sujah Khan died in 1739. But his son and successor Sarfaraz Khan, having alienated influential men by his debauchery, was killed by Aliverdi Khan, the Governor of Behar who became the Nawab of Bengal in 1740.

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[1] A dursunni is a bill at sight.

[2] Seir Mutaqherin, Cambray's Ed., Vol. 2, pp. 457-58.

[3] The Rise of the French Power in India, Calcutta Review, 1866, pp. 132-33.

Maratha invasions and their economic effects.

But before Aliverdi was fairly established on the Nawab's throne, the Marathas began to invade Bengal almost every year from 1742 to 1750. It is needless to say that these incursions caused considerable economic loss to the greater part of Behar and Orissa and to the districts of Midnapore and Burdwan in Bengal. Long in his Selections, quotes an extract from a despatch to the Court of Directors, dated January 2, 1752, which attributes the high price of raw silk for some years past to the depredations of the Marathas which interfered to a great extent with the Company's trade. But the economic loss to Bengal from the Maratha raids has often been greatly exaggerated. The Marathas caused destruction generally along the lines of their march, leaving the remaining part of the country more or less unaffected. Even in the affected areas the Marathas were obliged to retire at the approach of the rainy season and the inhabitants were again safe till January. They immediately began to work and managed to raise and sell their crops before the next year's impending invasion. That the country was not much impoverished by these invasions is also proved by the fact that the zaminders paid to Aliverdi the enormous sums of 1½ crores of rupees, besides their annual revenues, to enable him to meet the increased military expenditure.[1] The only permanent economic loss to Bengal from these invasions was the cession of Orissa and an annual tribute of 12 lacs of rupees, with which Aliverdi bought peace with the Marathas in 1751.

Unbroken peace in Bengal from 1751 to 1756.

From this time until his death in 1756, Aliverdi reigned in peace. In spite of his imposition of heavy abwabs, this latter period of Aliverdi's rule was, on the whole, one of unbroken economic prosperity to the people of Bengal. Unlike his two immediate predecessors, Aliverdi proved an able and wise ruler who maintained order and administered impartial justice.

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[1] Becher's letter of May 24, 1769.

Mug and Portuguese pirates.

It is true that Aliverdi could not entirely suppress the robbers, especially the Mug and Portuguese pirates. In the early records we come across many instances of their depredations. Thus a letter from the Chief of the English factory at Dacca, quoted in the despatch to Court of January 27, 1748, refers to "the Mugs and robbers who have done great mischief about Dacca." Another old record (an extract of a letter from Jugdea near Dacca, dated 16th November and given in the "Consultations" of the 4th December, 1752) describes the impression made by the Mugs in the following terms:—

"That as the time of the Mugs draws nigh, they request us to order the Pinnace to be with them by the end of the next month for the safe conveyance of their cloth and a chest of good powder with a Lanthorn or two." The Mugs in their annual raids, infested the Sunderbun Channels, and sometimes extended their piracies and plunderings, as far as Budge-budge. The Portuguese were at times their partners in their forays. Such was the dread of the Mugs that about the year 1770 a chain was put by the English authorities at Calcutta across the Hughly at Mukwah Fort (where the Superintendent of the Botanical Garden now resides) to prevent their vessels coming up.[1]

Slave trade and slavery in Bengal.

The Mugs and the Portuguese were also associated with the detestable slave trade which caused desolation to many fine places in the Sunderbuns. Thus we find in the East India Chronicle that in February 1717 "the Mugs carried off from the most Southern parts of Bengal, 1,800 men, women, and children. In ten days they arrived at Arracan and were conducted before the Sovereign, who chose the hand-craftsmen, about ¼th of the number as his slaves. The remainder were returned to the captors.........and sold according to their strength from 20 to rupees 70 each." These unhappy creatures, forcibly taken away from their homes, were sold in various places not excepting Calcutta where slavery was very prevalent throughout the eighteenth century. Inspite of the depredations of robbers and pirates, commerce flourished during the latter part of Aliverdi's reign. "The Europeans were little molested during his government and were permitted to carry on their commerce, according to the tenor of the firmans."

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[1] The Calcutta Review, 1860, p. 217, footnote.

Decline of French commerce and re-establishment of Danish settlement.

The French trade in Bengal had of course declined after the transfer of Dupleix to Pondichery in 1741, partly on account of the want of funds and partly owing to the lack of energy of Dupleix's successors. In a letter of the Dutch Council at Hughly to their Supreme Council at Batavia, dated 24th November, 1756, it is said that the French "have done no business these last few years." This declining French trade received also a fatal blow during the Seven Years' War (1755-1763). The Danes who had abandoned their factories along the Hughly in 1714, re-established themselves at Serampur in 1755. Their trade however, never attained any great importance except during the War of American Independence when the English sent to England their goods in Danish vessels to escape their enemies' battleships.

Dutch trade during the first half of the 18th Century.

The Dutch were in fact the chief commercial rivals of the English in their trade with Bengal till the supremacy of the English after the battle of Plassey. The Dutch trade in Bengal seems to have often been larger than that of the English during the first half of the eighteenth century. The Dutch had their settlements in all the important manufacturing centres of Bengal where they competed keenly with the English. Their method of trade was much the same as that of the English. Like the English, they imported a considerable quantity of precious metals, especially silver and woollen goods from Europe. But their trade was not entirely financed from Europe. They imported to Bengal, copper and camphor from Japan; tin and spelter from the Malay Peninsula; and pepper, cloves, mace and nutmegs from the islands of the Dutch East Indies. They employed the proceeds of these imports for financing their exports from Bengal to other parts of India as well as in purchasing commodities for their Eastern and European markets. The exports to Holland from Bengal consisted mainly of cotton cloths, silk (raw and manufactured) and saltpetre.

English imports during the same period.

The chief articles exported and imported by the English, were to a great extent similar to those which figured prominently in the Dutch trade. Bullion (gold and silver) formed, as usual, the largest part of the English Company's imports to Bengal as well as other parts of India. During the period 1708-1756, bullion formed 74 p.c. of their total imports to Bengal. Their other imports were broad cloth and other woollen goods, lead, iron, tin, copper, quick-silver and various minor articles. The import trade, specially the trade in woollen goods, was generally unprofitable. The Company's zeal in promoting the sale of woollen goods sometimes caused a glut of those articles in Bengal.[1] We come across instances of the Company's attempt to dispose of these unsaleable goods to native merchants, partly as payments for the commodities which the Company wanted to buy from them. The Company's trade in metals was generally more profitable but these imports were subjected to keen competition of similar articles, imported by the Dutch. Thus English copper and tin had always to face the competition of Japan copper and Malayan tin, imported by the Dutch.

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[1] Thus in a despatch to the Court of Directors dated the 8th December, 1755, it is written "When we put up the woollen goods at 15 p. c. on the invoice price, we found no

English exports in the 17th century.

The profits in their export trade made "sufficient amends" for the low profit or positive loss in the import trade of the English. Their chief exports from Bengal were cotton and silk piece goods, raw silk and saltpetre. These were their main exports as early as 1651 when the first English factory in Bengal was started at Hughly. The English first exported the famous Dacca muslins about the year 1666 and by the year 1675 the fashion of wearing muslins became pretty general in England. The Company's trade in Bengal silk manufactures also increased at this time on account of the establishment of English factories at Kasimbazar and Malda. This profitable trade in cotton and silk piecegoods began to expand rapidly all through the last quarter of the seventeenth century and it naturally excited the jealousy of the British silk and woollen manufacturers.

Effect of English prohibitive duties on Bengal piece-goods.

Accordingly in 1700, it was enacted by the British Parliament "that from and after the 29th day of September, 1701, all wrought silks, Bengals and stuffs mixed with silk or herba, of the manufacture of Persia, China, or the East Indies; and all calicoes, painted, dyed, printed or stained there, which are

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bidders for the ordinary red and popenjay broadcloth which we afterwards lowered pursuant to your directions of this season and have disposed of them at a very small advance on the invoice price." In fact the price of woollen goods was so high that any extensive sale could hardly be expected.

The following account of the sale of different kinds of woollen goods in December, 1753, is given in the Public Progress Volume, 1754 (I.R.D.):—

	Yds.	Number	Rs.	A.	P.
Broadcloth fine by retail	53	4	371	14	6
" ordinary " "	18	8	41	10	0
White flannel " "	12	0	13	8	0
Stuffs " "	51	12	127	4	0
Velvets " "	59	7	618	4	6
Broad perpets fine "	2	3	5	0	0
" " ordinary "	2	4	2	13	0
Brocades, 3 yards "	...	...	96	12	0
Broad cloth ordinary in pieces (illegible)	...	...	138	0	0
" " fine in pieces ...	16	0	1,025	3	6
Current Rupees			2,440	5	6

We have a rough idea of the purchasing power of the rupee at this time from the fact that the wholesale price of ordinary rice in Calcutta in 1756 was 1 md. 10 seers per Arcot rupee. (Consultations 18th May, 1757.)

or shall be imported into this kingdom, shall not be worn or otherwise used in Great Britain ; and all goods imported after that day, shall be warehoused, and exported again." Muslins proper and white calicoes which did not come under the operation of the above Act were subjected at this time to an import duty of 15% *ad valorem*. One of the results of the Act of 1700 was to increase the import of white calicoes from India, which begun to be extensively printed in England. Accordingly another Act (7 Geo. I.C. 7) was passed in 1721, prohibiting the use or wear of printed calicoes, whether printed in England or elsewhere.[1] These Acts did not affect much the export of cotton and silk manufactures from Bengal or from any other part of India, because England in those days formed only one of the many markets for the products of the Indian handlooms. Though the use of the dyed and printed calicoes which appear to have been the most important class of the imported cotton goods, was altogether stopped, it was still possible for the East India Company to import muslin and white calico into England for home consumption and it continued to import these until the imposition of prohibitive duties [2] during the Napoleonic Wars and the introduction of the great mechanical inventions in the British cotton industry. Manufactured silk, dyed and printed calicoes were also regularly imported to England throughout the eighteenth century for re-exportation to different countries. It is thus evident that the Acts of 1700 and 1721 alone did not bring about the decline of the Indian handloom industry but it cannot be denied that the immediate impulse [3] for the adoption of machinery in the English cotton industry came from the restriction of the Indian imports. The English public had become accustomed to the use of the Indian cotton goods towards the close of the seventeenth century and when the import of these was restricted, the English cotton manufacturers found it profitable to extend their scale of production to satisfy the home demand.

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[1] Baines, History of the Cotton Manufacture in Great Britain, p. 324, and Prof. Hamilton, Trade Relations between England and India, pp. 103-105.

[2] In 1813, the import duty on Indian muslins rose to 44 per cent. and the duty on white calicoes amounted to 85 per cent. See Baines, p. 325.

[3] Knowles, The Industrial and Commercial Revolutions in Great Britain during the Nineteenth Century, pp. 43-45.

Company's export of raw silk.

The English commercial policy was however quite liberal towards raw silk, saltpetre and other exports from Bengal, which did not compete with English manufacturers, but on the other hand, were often raw materials of English industries. The Company also did its best to promote the export of these articles. As early as 1673, it sent out dyers to Bengal to improve the colour of Bengal raw silk. But its trade in this article was not considerable before the middle of the eighteeenth century. From 1751, the English Company's export of Bengal raw silk began to increase and during the period 1751 to 1765 it rose, on an average, to about 80,340 lbs.

Keen demand for Patna salt-petre but the difficulty in sending it to the ports.

Salt-petre was a more important English export from Bengal up to the first half of the eighteenth century. Then, as now, salt-petre was abundant in Bihar, and Patna was the chief centre of this industry. Macpherson refers to the chronic dearth of saltpetre in England in the seventeenth century. "Repeated attempts have been made (in England) to obtain saltpetre by digging up the floors of houses, stables, and pigeon holes; and the people were obliged to admit saltpetre men to destroy their floors whenever they thought proper. Other projects were set on foot; but they were all equally unavailing." Naturally, the authorities of the E. I. Company in England "were never weary of asking for saltpetre from Patna where it could be had so good and cheap that the contract for it was discontinued on the west coast in 1608 and at Masulipatam in 1670." The English used to send down every year the saltpetre from Patna, at first to Hughly and later on to Calcutta, in a small fleet of boats. In many instances, the passage of these saltpetre boats was on their way to Hughli or to Calcutta, interrupted by the Nawab's officials or by private rajahs whose territories lay on the banks of the Ganges to extort bribes from the English. Thus in 1679, thirty-one boats, containing 29,891 maunds of saltpetre for the English Company, were in readiness to proceed to Hughli but were held up by the Nawab's officials to secure exorbitant bribes. Mr. Wilson, in his Early Annals of the English in Bengal, quotes many instances of such stoppage of the Company's saltpetre boats on their way down the Ganges by the native officials, at the beginning of the eighteenth century. In many cases, there were free fights between these officials and the escort of soldiers who accompanied the Company's saltpetre boats. But inspite of such interruptions, saltpetre formed one of the chief exports as well as "the most profitable export" of the Company at that time. On the 8th of December, 1755, we find the English authorities in Bengal writing to the court of Directors, "our contracts for saltpetre .....being insufficient to comply with your directions...we increased the quantity. Omichund agreed to deliver us by the end of January from 30,000 maunds to 40,000 at the rate of Rs. 5-12 As. (Arcot) per factory maund.

Trade in opium.

The opium procurable at Patna was a minor item of the Company's exports. The Company first ordered Bengal opium to be sent to England in 1682. But up to 1786 the importation amounted to about 750 lbs. only. The chief markets for Bengal opium, during the first half of the eighteenth century, as well as in subsequent periods, were Java, Malayan archipelago and China.

Native trade with different parts of Asia.

The trade of Bengal, both inland and foreign, exclusive of the commerce of the European Companies, was also very flourishing during the first half of the eighteenth century. The Hindu, Armenian and Muhammadan merchants carried on a brick trade with other parts of India and with Arabia, Persia [1] and the Eastern Islands. The despotism of the Nawabs of Bengal never degenerated into absolute oppression. Commerce, manufacture and agriculture were encouraged. Inspite of occasional scarcity and floods in different localities, Bengal was also practically free from great natural calamities like the famine of 1770, during the first half of the eighteenth century. Up to the battle of Plassey, the balance of trade with all trading countries was in favour of Bengal and "it was the sink where gold and silver disappeared without the least prospect of return." At this period the Indian traders carried on also a lucrative trade with Assam and Tibet. Since the beginning of the eighteenth century, forty vessels from five to six hundreds tons burden each, were annually sent from Bengal to Assam laden with salt, which yielded 200 per cent. profit. They received in exchange ivory, lac, a large quantity of muga silk and a small amount of gold and silver. Tibet took[1] a quantity of Bengal cotton and silk fabrics, broad-cloth, spices, corals and amber and paid in exchange gold dust, musk and tails of yak cows. These goods were first sent to Patna from where they were distributed over Bengal. But the ascendancy of the Gurkha power in Nepal from 1767-68 considerably interrupted the main channel of commercial intercourse between Bengal and Tibet.

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[1] After the assassination of Nadir Shah in 1747, the anarchy prevailing in Persia considerably interrupted her trade with Bengal.

Trade in cotton and silk.

A vast amount of Bengal cotton goods and raw silk "were dispersed to the West and North, inland, as far as Guzerat, Lahore and even Ispahan." A considerable amount of raw cotton was sent to Bengal from Bombay and Surat, to supply raw materials for her cotton manufacturers. But a large quantity of raw cotton grew also in Bengal at this period and the famous Dacca muslins were made entirely out of the produce [1] of the Dacca district. Kasimbazar, which is now the chief centre of the silk industry in Bengal, was famous for its large production of raw silk as early as the beginning of the seventeenth century. Bernier who visited this place in January 1666, says that "the Dutch have sometimes seven or eight hundred natives employed in their silk factory at Kassem-Bazar, where in like manner, the English and other merchants employ a proportionate number." According to Tavernier,[2] the annual output of raw silk at Kasimbazar in the middle of the seventeenth century was about 2½ million lbs. (22,000 bales, each bale weighing 100 livres) out of which ¾ million lbs. was sent to Guzarat and other parts of India, but a portion of it was taken to Central sia by the merchants of Tartary. The Dutch also exported y year about ¾ million lbs. of Kasimbazar raw silk either apan or to Holland and the remaining 1 million lbs. was d up in Bengal into silk fabrics. Though this 'country- ' Bengal raw silk was full of knots, it was so cheap e trade in this commodity continued unabated during t half of the eighteenth century. Some idea of the ade in raw silk during this period may be formed from hat so late as Aliverdi Khan's time, nearly seventy s worth of raw silk were entered in the custom-office books at Mursidabad, exclusive of the European investments.

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[1] "Brief Account of the Kingdom of Tibet" by Horace Della Penna (1730) throws some light on the foreign trade of Tibet during the first half of the eighteenth century. The exports of Tibet, according to this writer, were iron, copper, sulphur, cinnabar, cobalt, turquoise, stones, borax, rocksalt, mountain crystals, gold, silver, woollen cloth and yarn, woollen blankets and musk. With regard to imports Horace Della Penna writes that "from Nekpal (*i. e.*, Nepal) come cotton cloths, wrought brass and copper. From Mogol (*i.e.*, Mughal India) come white and figured cloths, silk and embroidered stuffs, brocades, scarlet, corals and amber (these last three articles from Europe) small diamonds and other things."

Trade in sugar.

Down to the year 1756, a considerable trade in Bengal sugar was carried on with Madras, the Malabar coast, Bombay, Surat, Sind, Muscat, the Persian Gulf, Mocha and Jedda. Bengal seems to have been the chief centre of this industry with a large export trade in sugar even in the middle of the seventeenth century.[1] During "the period immediately preceding the capture of Calcutta in 1756, the annual exportation was about 50,000 maunds which yielded a profit of about 50 per cent. and the returns for which were generally in specie." But the decline of trade and industry in Bengal after 1757 and the competition of Java sugar[2] in the markets of Western India caused a decline of this profitable trade.

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[1] The cotton wool out of which the Dacca muslin was manufactured and which was perhaps the finest variety of Eastern cotton, grew well on a small tract of land along the banks of the Megna. Though this cotton was admirably suited for the production of the most delicate hand-spun yarn, it had the disadvantage of being short-stapled.

[2] Moreland, India at the Death of Akbar, p. 173, and Tavernier's Travels in India (Ball's ed.), Vol. II, pp. 2-3. Tavernier visited Kasimbazar in February, 1666. See also the Diaries of Streynsham Master (1675-80) who describes the country round Kasimbazar as full of mulberry trees.

Prosperous trade down to 1756 due to flourishing industries.

At the time of the capture of Calcutta by Siraj-ud-Dowla in 1756 "the coast of Cormondel and Malabar, the Gulph of Persia and the Red Sea, nay even Manilla, China and the coast of Africa were obliged to Bengal for taking off their cot
pepper, drugs, fruits, *chank*, cowrees, tin, toothenague, etc.
on the other hand they were supplied from Bengal with
they could not well be without, such as raw silk a
various manufactures, opium, vast quantities of
cloth, rice, ginger, turmerick, long pepper etc., and all
gruff goods."[3] This prosperous trade was mainly du
flourishing agricultural and manufacturing industrie
the first half of the eighteenth century. But the
revolution in Bengal in 1757 brought in its train c
and industrial changes which affected materially her
industries. With the battle of Plassey began one of th
periods in the economic annals of Bengal—the
which the English were in power without responsibilit

J. C. Si

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[1] Tavernier, Vol. II, p. 23. Cæsar Frederic visiting Satgaon about 1565 A.
tells us that Portuguese vessels sailed to Europe every year from that port, "lad
rice, cotton cloths of various kinds, *great quantities of sugar* (italics are ours), myr
long pepper, butter, oil and many other wares."

[2] A letter to the Court of Directors, dated February 27, 1758 refers to "the
quantities of sugar made by the Dutch at Batavia and carried from thence to Surat an
the Gulph of Persia." See also Stavorinus, Voyage to the East Indies, Vol. I, p. 232, and Vol. III, p. 327.

[3] Hill, Bengal in 1756-57, Vol. III, p. 390.

Ourselves

MR. YONE NOGUCHI.

Mr. Yone Noguchi, the well known Japanese poet and exponent of Japanese Literature and Art, who has delighted our readers with regular contributions has just been appointed a Reader to this University. The subject of his Lectures will be "Some Aspects of the Arts and Literature of Japan."

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MR. S. C. GHOSE.

Our congratulations to Mr. S. C. Ghose who has also been appointed by the Senate, a Reader on an honorarium of Rupees One Thousand only to lecture on the burning topic of the day—"Railway Economics." Mr. Ghose is admittedly one of the foremost of the Railway experts in India, his courage of convictions and independence of views are well known to our readers and we are looking forward to a brilliant and a scientific exposition of the subject which has been engaging the attention of the lay man and the expert alike in recent times.

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THE GHOSE TRAVELLING FELLOWSHIPS.

We understand that one of the Ghose Travelling Fellowships available for the year 1924-25 has been awarded to Dr. Siteshchandra Kar, D.Sc., Professor, Bangabasi College, and Lecturer, Calcutta University, to prosecute advanced study and research in Mathematics: a second Fellowship has been awarded to Mr. Pulinbehari Sarkar, M.Sc., Lecturer in the Science College, to enable him to prosecute advanced study and research abroad in Chemistry.

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MR. PRABODHCHANDRA BAGCHI.

The Rashbehari Ghose Travelling Fellowship previously granted to Mr. Prabodhchandra Bagchi, one of our brilliant lecturers in the department of Post-graduate Studies in History, has just been extended for a further period of one year on the following satisfactory report of a distinguished orientalist like Prof. Sylvain Levi—a report, which, we doubt not, will amply repay perusal:

> I have been associated with Mr. Bagchi for two years and a half, and the more I am acquainted with him, the more I love him as a friend and a scholar. No doubt he is the most promising Indian student I had ever to deal with; while too many of your young men in the Indian Universities use to publish rashly any bit of paper they have scribbled, Mr. Bagchi is carefully controlling his thought and his knowledge till he can rightly hope to have become a perfect master of them. He has already prepared two big works, both of which can speak high for him: an edition of two old Chinese-Sanskrit vocabularies, and an index to the titles of works included in the largest edition of the Chinese Tripitaka. He has also prepared some translation of French papers on Pre-Aryan India which he will send you for the Journal of the Calcutta University. He can work tremendously, and I use to watch over him lest he may overwork himself. I have been inquiring from my colleagues who have Mr. Bagchi as a student: all of them agree with me on his account. No better use can be made of Sir Rashbehary Ghose Travelling Fund, and I can assure you that the great man who gave all his heart and mind to the Calcutta University, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, would have insisted that Mr. Bagchi's Travelling Fellowship would be continued for another year.

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POST-GRADUATE STUDIES.

On the motion of Mr. Pramathanath Banerjee, the Senate, on the 27th September last, adopted the following resolution :

> (A) That in view of the fact that almost all the appointments to the teaching staff in the department of Post-Graduate Studies in Arts and Science expire on the 31st May, 1925, and in view of the immediate necessity for formulating a definite scheme for the stabilisation and development of Post-Graduate Studies in Calcutta the following Committee be appointed to enquire into the working of the Post-Graduate departments in the University and submit a report to the Senate at an early date :
>
> 1. The Hon'ble Justice Sir William Ewart Greaves, Kt., M.A., Vice-Chancellor, *Chairman.*
> 2. E. F. Oaten, Esq., M.A., LL.B.
> 3. Sir Nilratan Sircar, Kt., M.A., M.D., LL.D., D.C.L.
> 4. Herambachandra Maitra, Esq., M.A.
> 5. Rai Bahadur Dr. Upendranath Brahamachari, M.A., M.D., Ph.D.
> 6. Girischandra Bose, Esq., M.A., M.R.A.S.
> 7. H. E. Stapleton, Esq. M.A., B.Sc.
> 8. Subodhchandra Mahalanobis, Esq., B.Sc., F.R.S.E.
> 9. Prof. P. Brühl, D.Sc., I.S.O., F.C.S., F.G.S.
> 10. Sir Prafullachandra Ray, C.I.E., Ph.D., D.Sc., F.C.S.
> 11. Jnanchandra Ghosh, Esq., M.A.
> 12. Jnanranjan Banerjea, Esq., M.A., B.L.
> 13. Bidhanchandra Ray, Esq., B.A., M.D., F.R.C.S., M.R., C.P., M.L.C.
> 14. Rev. W. S. Urquhart, M.A., D.Litt.
> 15. R. N. Gilchrist, Esq., M.A.
> 16. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D.
> 17. A. Suhrawardy, Esq., M.A., D.Litt., Ph.D., M.L.C.
> 18. Pramathanath Banerjee, Esq., M.A., B.L.
> 19. Prof. Pramathanath Banerjea, M.A., D.Sc., M.L.C.
> 20. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, Esq., M.A., B.L.
>
> (B) That the Committee associate with itself the following gentlemen :—
>
> (*a*) Secretaries of the Post-Graduate Councils in Arts and Science when questions relating to the particular Council come up for discussion.
>
> (*b*) The Chairman and two members of each of the Higher Boards of Studies when questions relating to it will be considered.

(C) That the Committee shall enquire into and report to the Senate on the following and other relevant matters :—

(*a*) Whether retrenchment is possible in the Post-Graduate departments concerned. If so, in what directions ?

(*b*) Whether the pay and conditions of employment and service of the members of the teaching staff are satisfactory ?

And what specific recommendations may be made for improving the same.

(*c*) Whether the members of the teaching staff have been given proper facilities for carrying on research work.

(*d*) Whether the rules relating to the Provident Fund of the Teachers are satisfactory, and if not, on what lines the rules should be framed to afford the teachers greater security and larger amount of money in the Provident Fund either at the time of retirement or resignation.

(D) That the quorum of a meeting for the Committee be fixed at eleven.

The terms of reference are clear-cut and, we hope, the Committee will be in a position to make specific recommendations to the Senate at an early date.

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THE MATRICULATION COURSE.

It will be within the recollection of our readers that soon after Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was appointed Vice-Chancellor in 1921, a Conference of Head Masters was summoned by the Syndicate to consider what steps might be taken to facilitate the introduction of scientific and vocational education in our schools. The Conference, after elaborate discussion, arrived at certain important conclusions which were calculated to give a practical turn to our present Matriculation course. The recommendations of the Head Masters were placed before another Conference, which was soon after convened, to which were invited representatives of the Managing Committees of all the recognised Schools in Bengal. This Conference also generally approved of the changes advocated. The Syndicate considered the scheme and placed it for scrutiny before a joint meeting of the Faculties of Arts and Science. The scheme underwent minor changes and was finally transmitted to the Senate. The approval of the Senate was duly obtained.

It will be desirable to refer here to the two fundamental changes in the present system of education which were intended to be carried out by the new regulations. In the first place, the proposed changes gave the students ample opportunity for taking a scientific subject and making it obligatory for them to undergo training in a vocational subject. In the second place, it was intended that instruction and examination in all subjects, other than English, should, unless otherwise directed by the Syndicate, be conducted through the vernacular of the student. As the changes contemplated required the ultimate sanction of Government they were forwarded to the Education Department early in September, 1922. Government, undoubtedly, gave the scheme its most anxious consideration, for it was only on the 23rd August last that the University was favoured with a long letter from the Department which discussed the recommendations of the Senate in great details. Government has expressed its doubt as regards the wisdom of the initiation of some of the proposals of the University. The letter was placed before the Senate on the 27th September last and on the motion of Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee it was referred to the following Committee for consideration and early report:

The Hon'ble Sir W. E. Greaves, *Vice-Chancellor.*
Sir Nilratan Sircar.
Mr. Herambachandra Maitra.
The Hon'ble Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikary.
Mr. Subodhchandra Mahalanobis.
Sir Praphullachandra Ray.
Mr. Girischandra Bose.
Mr. E. F. Oaten.
Mr. Jnanranjan Banerjea.
Mr. W. E. Griffith.
Dr. Abdullah Suhrawardy.
Mr. Jaminibhusan Ray.
Mr. Pramathanath Banerjee.
Dr. Pramathanath Banerjea.
Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee.

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THE FINAL M.B. HONOURS EXAMINATION.

Of the 14 candidates declared eligible for admission to the Honours Examination, 9 candidates appeared and 5 were absent: one candidate only was successful and obtained Honours in Medicine and Pathology.

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THE B. COM. EXAMINATION.

The number of candidates registered for the B. Com. Examination was 103 of whom 49 passed, 47 failed and 7 were absent. Of the successful candidates two were placed in First Class.

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

NOVEMBER, 1924

BEAUTY IN INDIA

> "Let her bathe every day, rubbing saffron on her body. Let her attire be clean, her eyelids tinged with antimony, and her forehead marked with red pigment. Let her hair be well combed and adorned. Thus shall she be like unto Lakshmi"—*Hindu Rule for Women.*

Beauty is not always in the eye of the beholder; it is more often a matter of geography. There is no fixed criterion of beauty, as the ideals of a people vary with environment. Not even the wildest stretch of the imagination could, to the Western eye, invest with beauty the tattooed Borneo Dyak; the clipped-haired, cicatriced Kanakas and Solomon Islanders; the excoriated clay-daubed-haired Fijians; the filed-toothed, wooly-haired, ear-distorted African, or a host of weirdly coiffured, disfigured savages from the primitive and outland spots of the world.

But here in India, a very ancient civilization has developed a type of beauty that attracts even critical Westerners, and all those capable of recognizing the charms of lovely figures, luxuriant hair, lustrous dark eyes, and cameolike features. There can be no standardization of beauty except in the fundamental principles of health, naturalness and cleanliness. Style of dress is a mere detail, adapting itself readily to the dictates of changing fashions and the demands of climate and custom.

"Knowledge is the health of the body, poverty is its plague, gaiety is its support and sadness makes it grow old." This ancient Hindu aphorism was not only wise in its own generation, but is sane enough to apply to our own, and worthy of being adopted into a modern beauty formula. The condition of the mind governs the outward expression, and a cheerful disposition reflects a form of beauty which is glorified because it is spiritual.

Sadness, brooding, discontent and temper, relaxes the muscles of the face and develops lines and shadows that detract materially from any woman's attractiveness, no matter how regular her features may be.

We may even go so far as to assert that beauty is a condition of mind, a quality of soul, a gracious philosophy which combined with health of the body creates a harmonious whole that transcends the mere ephemeral outlines of physical perfections.

Perhaps it is possible for us to gain something of value from a brief study of the lives of Hindu women, who, while dwelling in a world far removed from ours, have learned some things that might be of more use to the modern Western woman than the strenuous programmes of her daily life, her unrest, her ambitions, her effort to follow the dictates of changing fashions, and her determination to compete with man in all of his endeavours; to say nothing of the nervous reactions caused by an accumulation of discord in too-swift living.

Some of the extreme Hindu maxims might not appeal to our ideas of justice and equality, but they might appeal to our sense of humour.

"She (the wife) cannot lavish too much affection on the father-in-law, the mother-in-law and her husband. Before her husband let her words fall softly and sweetly from her mouth, and let her devote herself to pleasing him every day more and more."—*Brahmin Commandment.*

But, first, let us understand something of the daily life of an Indian *Purdah* woman, before we pass judgment on her views of life, her submissiveness to her husband's will, and general self-effacement. I am crediting you with that rare quality of understanding things from the other person's view-point.

The "Purdahnashin," or women who follow the old Indian customs of life, as they have for many centuries, and who live in retirement from the world as we know it, are only doing what is to them quite the natural thing. The *Purdah* dates back to those bold, bad days when predatory invaders swept down upon India from the borders, and it was considered a measure of vital safety to screen the women and secure them from intrusion. The Mohamedans follow the same custom, even more strictly, and one never sees the face of an orthodox Muslim woman in public as she is completely swathed and disguised in a large cloak of white, head and all covered from view. She looks like a materialized ghost wandering about and one often wonders what oriental beauties are hidden from our sight. On the other hand the disguise may be a blessing!

It is only the low-caste and outcast women who walk uncovered, before men, or who mingle with people on terms of equality and freedom. The exceptions are in the minority and deal with the modernized and Europeanized Indians who have been educated here or in England, and who have absorbed, as much as possible, of the ideals and standards of Occidental civilization. These few women, however, are not to be taken as typical of old India of Hindu orthodoxy, and while they may act as an entering wedge towards changing ancient customs, and their composite influence bring about modernizing results, it will be many years yet before India *en masse* discards the *Purdah* system. Naturally, the chief opponents in this measure will be the men themselves, for India is a land where the men have always made the laws, and the women followed them!

But it is a fact that on the whole the women of India are contented with the immemorial customs of the *Purdah*, and while their lives seem narrow and constricted to us, there are compensations in the old règime. The ideal Indian woman believes that "devotion to her lord (husband) is woman's honour, it is her eternal Heaven" (*Mahabharata*).

Also that "if a wife obeys her husband, she will for that reason alone be exalted in heaven" (*Karpura Manjari*). We are not to think from these one-sided maxims that Indian women are zeros in their own homes. Far from it. One of the chief slogans of women in this country is "Marriage, Motherhood and Power in the Home, for what else is she born"? She has a tremendous influence in the domestic life of the family, on her children and husband. The women of India are "life-givers," teachers and guardians of the spiritual welfare of the young. They are the power "behind the throne" whose influence grows with their maturity. The old mother is venerated and treated with respect by all.

A well-known Indian writer has said that the Women of the West are concerned with *Rights* and the Women of the East with *Duty*. Hundreds of generations of customs have evolved a caste individuality rather than an individual ego. Hinduism is more than a religion; it is an attitude of mind. The divisions of ideas and opinions are fatal to caste; therefore, personal independence, or differences as to the ethics of life, or custom, or even beauty are not encouraged.

The average Indian woman knows little of our so-called "parlour accomplishments"; she has no superficial attainments or talents. There are few "dilettantti" among the feminine element. The arts are taken, if at all, very seriously. Even a dancing girl devotes her life to dancing.

But if Indian women lack the numerous little accomplishments that are considered so charming among Western women, they do not lack the charm of femininity, which is a very different thing from Feminism. Modesty is the bed-rock of all virtues. "She is courteous in her mind, with shyness shall her face be bright; of all the beauties of the body, none is more shining than shyness."

To be beautiful for her home, her children, her husband, is the be-all and end-all of life. Should she be fair to her "Lord," she is content. And in contemplation of this fact, we realize that this is the crux of the matter, and herein lies the great contrast between the standards of the East and West. Would the average modern American or English girl be satisfied to beautify herself, and wear lovely clothes merely to please her immediate family? Is she contented with only a husband's admiration? Preposterous thought! Yet so it is in India. Of course, these remarks do not apply to the low-caste and outcast professional Nautch girl who enjoys all the freedom she desires to the loss of her reputation.

Beauty may be divided, largely, into two classes; those who come under the head of respectability and the "Purdah-nashin"; and those who belong to that great sisterhood which forms the oldest profession in the world. And under this last head comes the famous Nautch girl, the temple dancers and courtesans whose name is legion. Naturally the demands in their profession cause them to devote special care to the art of personal adornment, and many are the artifices they employ.

The daily formula of beauty in India begins with a bath, which with the good Hindu is more than a bath; it is a purification, and a rite attended with ceremony and prayer. Cleanliness is not always next to godliness, especially in the East where so-called Holy-men wander in filthy and mud-daubed nudity; but the forms of bathing are religious laws which are followed in prescribed fashion in orthodox families.

After bathing the body it is anointed with oils, cocoanut, palm, or oils in which some favourite scent, such as rose or jasmine, has been infused. Even acrid and pungent mustard oil is in great favour, although it is an offence to the oilfactories. It is considered very wholesome to give the body a thorough oil-massage, flexing the muscles and rendering them more supple. This oil is also applied copiously to the hair, which is combed, not brushed, and perfumed with one's favourite scent.

Sandal-wood oil is popular for the hair and also for the foundation of perfume. The skins of Indian women, if well tended, present a smooth satin-like appearance which is graceful to the sight.

The finger-tips, hands and feet are stained with henna; the eyelids and brows darkened with kohl or antimony lending a languishing and mysterious beauty to the eyes and increasing the size in effect. The eyebrows are sometimes joined by an artificial line, following an old custom, which however, does not add anything to the attractiveness of the face, from our view-point.

Even the use of cosmetics is governed by custom. In India the women use the equivalent of our paint, powder, rouge and eye-pencil, and it is considered an everyday part of the toilet.

Some Indians use powdered saffron, which is yellow and brightens up the complexion, on the same principle as we use "Poudre Rachel," rose, white or "naturelle."

The eyelids are darkened with antimony and kohl, and the hands and feet are stained with henna. It is not used by the Hindus on the hair, but some orthodox Mohamedans dye their beards with it!

The favoured perfumes are musk, sandalwood, *attar* of rose, amber and essences distilled from the *Champa* (frangipani), the flower of *Kama*, the God of Love; and the *bael* flower (jasmine), sacred to *Vishnu*. Perfumes are used in profusion and produce a sensuous and heady effect desirable in the East.

Indian women have no need to conform to changing styles. There is no change in modes for them: Custom and Costumes have remained fixed for hundreds of years. Fashion does not make the mode here, and the old style of dress so long in vogue in India is perfectly adapted to the types of beauty and body. They are well chosen to show off the flowing lines of colourful draperies, the graceful arrangement of body and head-covering and the profusion of rich jewellery which gives the correct finishing touch to an oriental toilet.

Should an Indian woman be so unwise as to adopt the styles of Western dress she will only succeed in making a caricature of herself. There can be no compromise between the styles of the East and West, and any attempt in that direction only leads to ludicrous failure. How much more lovely and graceful are the undulating lines of the *saris*, designed in a multitude of handsome fabrics, embroidered, brocaded, woven and shot with silver and gold threads, and running the gamut of the rainbow in pure and beautiful colours. How charming a foil for the old-ivory and dusky complexions of the wearer.

When Mark Twain was in India, he paid a glowing tribute to the beautiful costumes and graceful carriage of Indian women. They have never known the constrictions of the body caused from wearing tight corsets, shoes and garments cut in intricate and sometimes deforming lines. Their walk is free, lithe, dignified and as gracile as a young larch in a spring wind.

It would be very difficult for any Westerner to emulate the naturally smooth and sinuous gait of even the most humble cooly-women. Generations of balancing water jars and bundles on their heads have straightened and strengthened the spine and given them an upright carriage. A natural and healthy erectness is independent of corsets, braces and supporters and the natural lines of the body, though unconfined, are beautifully normal.

The Indian *Sari*, while unchanging in form, is developed in many varieties of colour and fabric. I have seen a dance-gown of a Nautch girl literally weighted down with gold embroidery, jewels and small mirrors. The colours are graded exquisitely and blended with a natural skill, and the old native vegetable dyes can give some very beautiful shades, from pasteles to flamboyancy, the crescendo of the colour tone scale.

A *Sari*, the national costume of the Hindu, consists of about six yards of material, which when wound around the body, creates at once a petticoat, a skirt, a waist and a head-covering. The *Sari* is draped with a deftness and grace that would fill with envy the most ultra *modiste* on the Rue de la Paix or Fifth Avenue. The whole effect, seemingly so difficult of accomplishment, is achieved in a casual, natural and almost instinctive manner that compels our admiration. The result is charming, a complete and lovely garment, following the same unbroken lines of drapery and beauty that was so dear to the heart of the old Greeks.

Indians love ornaments and jewellery of every description. Ear-rings of every size and shape are eternally in vogue; rings and pendants, jewels-studded, chased and filigreed in gold and silver, copper or brass, meet the limits of every pocket-book. And they are extremely becoming. The Indian woman does not limit herself to wearing only one pair of ear-rings at a time but on special occasions, wears as many as five or six pairs. The outside of the ears are sometimes pierced in a succession of small holes, although it is more usual to have one large hole punched in the lobe, sufficiently ample to accommodate several pairs of ear-rings at once. The cartilage of the nostril is also pierced as a great many castes wear a jewelled nose-stud or nose-ring, which, strange to say, looks quite attractive.

Necklaces are worn in infinite variety. Even the poorest cooly-woman is seldom seen without a chain, or several chains, of coral or blue beads, or some bright imitation stone. Some of the North-Indian women wear all their worldly fortune around their necks; a chain of rupees and eight-anna pieces which is added to as opportunity affords.

India is the home of pearls, diamonds and magnificent jewels. The state costumes of a wealthy Rajah transcend description, and the ceremonial robes of the Ranees are no less gorgeous. Ropes of pearls, emeralds, rubies, sapphires and every imaginable coloured gem vie with each other in oriental splendour, and some of the diamonds are of enormous size. Of course, there are gradations of jewels according to the financial status of the wearer, but almost every Indian has jewels of sorts. They are usually combined with what seems to us outré effect, and yet when worn with the old world costumes of rich and brilliant colour and texture, they seem perfectly harmonious.

Ornate pendants are much in favour; head ornaments of all kinds, from single stones to chains and fillets of gold and silver with jewelled drops. Rings of every imaginable variety adorn all the fingers of the Indian. An especially large ring is designed for the thumb, and there are rings in decreasing size, for all the other digits; not forgetting, of course, the toe-rings which are much in favour with dancing girls. Anklets too, of gold, silver and brass clink around the instep of the Indian woman as she walks. Some castes wear enormous anklets that appear to bear down the body with their weight. The Nautch girls sometimes wear little bells on their anklets and so "have music wherever they go."

A profusion of jewellery denotes, if not wealth, at least worldly possessions, and in India one grows quite accustomed to see all kinds of ornaments worn by both sexes. Girdles of linked metal, jewelled and ornamented, decorate the waist, and head-bands of beautiful designs sit proudly on the dark head of the wearer. In fact, there is no end to the varieties of jewels that adorn the bodies of the Eastern women. And indeed they would appear very incompletely costumed to us, devoid of ornaments. For untold centuries the people of the Orient have developed the art of jewel-making, and as custom has demanded the use of such personal decorations, there is no danger of a decline in the jewel-market.

Besides all the jewels and ornaments considered necessary in the completion of the Indian ladies' toilette, the caste-mark is added as a finishing touch; a circle of red or yellow pigment placed in the centre of the forehead. It is a mark of good breeding, and instead of looking barbaric, it gives much the same effect as the beauty-patch of the Pompadour Period. It is *piquante* and pleasing and suits the brunette type.

As there is no change in costumes and jewellery, the *modiste* and jeweller do not need to perpetually create new styles to stimulate trade. The beautiful designs and fabrics have lived through the centuries, and although there is a great variety of material to choose from, the bases of design remain the same.

The arts of personal adornment and physical charm are well understood in India. The two chief motives of an Indian woman's life are to please her husband and do her duty to *Thakur* (God), which is to breed children to perpetuate the race, especially sons. This is her *raison d'être.* The only moral crime in India is to be a virgin, or unmarried woman, and this is the primary reason for the custom of child marriages. A woman is not considered a full-fledged Hindu until she becomes married. A childless woman is a reproach and a shame to herself and others. But saddest of all is the lot of widows. Hopeless, disgraced, shorn of ornaments and hair, she wanders throughout the miserable length of her days, an outcast, or at best the slave and servant of her family. This cruel attitude to the Indian widow is one of the most difficult things to understand and to forgive. How different the creed of Christendom: "To visit the widows and fatherless in their affliction." And how different the standard for those widows who do not consider themselves afflicted! Re-marriage is forbidden by the

Brahmin law for a woman, but a man may do as he likes. Verily this is a man's country. In the old days, as you know, widows burned themselves on the funeral pyre of their dead husbands. Now that barbarous custom has been abolished, her lot has in no way been lightened, other than that she escapes immolation. Sometimes, I am sure, an Indian widow would rather be dead than live out hopeless years, blamed as it were for somethngi she could not control.

For Hindus the laws of religion dominate every action of life, customs, costumes, cosmetics and conduct. And thus even the rules of beauty are as fixed as the planetary system.

In reviewing the various phases of costuming and the uses of cosmetics, I have avoided any mention of the teeth, because, alas, in India they do not shine like pearls as a rule. The almost universal use of pân, a preparation of betelnut, lime and pân-leaf, has stained the teeth, tongue and mouth a deep crimson, that is very revolting in appearance. Unfortunately, the use of this discolouring stuff is said to be good for the digestion, and with that excuse to go on, all and sundry succumb to a very ugly habit. This pân is wrapped up in a three-cornered leaf and thurst into the cheek where it bulges like a nut in a squirrel's jaw, until continued mastication gradually reduces the size of the protuberance. It is the cud of India, which she chews with the assiduity of a cow. The worst part about it is that pân is chewed like tobacco, with the same juicy result, which is expectorated in sanguinary streams, sometimes indiscriminately. The lower castes and classes are particularly given to this evil habit.

We have seen how the male dominates the situation in India, but we must admit, that, on the whole, the Indian woman seems contented with her lot. Perhaps she does not want any other. However, we enlightened Westerners, who go about with uncovered faces, consorting familiarly with men, not our husbands, occupy about the same position in their minds as do the Sudras, the lowest caste in India, who sprung from the feet of *Brahma*! In fact, we are hopelessly outcasted by the women of the Purdahnashin of the old school. The Hindu maxim which says " there are three kinds of persons who are well received everywhere—a gallant warrior, a learned man, and a pretty woman," is not referring to *Purdah* women, but the ladies of easy virtue, who walk where they list.

In closing, I should like to give two contrasting morning greetings in the East and West and let you draw your own conclusions.

An Eastern Morning :

The Husband (*with magnanimous condescension*)—

" Thou resemblest thy name to-day, O *Gulab* (rose) mine."

The Wife (*humbly*)—

" O gracious Lord, thy poor slave's heart is made to rejoice at thy praise."

A Western Morning :

The Wife (*crossly*)—

" Late to breakfast as usual, well don't blame me if the coffee is cold."

The Husband (*attempting conciliation*)—

" I am sorry my dear. Ahem !......You are looking as fresh as a rose to-day ! "

The Wife (*last word forever*)—

"Humph ! No thanks to you. You and your poker party kept me awake till two o'clock this morning !"

In a brief review of the ideals of beauty in the East, I think that the most outstanding points to remember are that an Indian woman is wrapped up in her domestic life, in her desire to please her husband, be a good mother and be beautiful because that, too, is a duty. The comparisons in this case are impossible, for the standards are entirely different, and the East and West have little in common in their social angle.

There are many admirable points in an Indian woman's philosophy and ideals of life. We might do worse than to study her repose, her contentment of outlook, her modesty, piety and calm indifference to the changing world about her. Her reach does not exceed her grasp ; she is not tortured by ambitions ; she is in no danger of becoming a " blue-stocking," or a bobbed-haired " flapper " ; she is not a flirt nor a coquette, nor is she " mannish " in style or temperament ; she is not bent on athletics, but leads a quiet life bound within the limits of her home which is her all. The ideal woman in India is " Sita," the heroine of the *Ramayana*, India's great Epic poem, who shared all the vicissitudes of banishment and unhappy wanderings with her loved husband, Rama, and who was exalted thereby above all women.

It has been my good fortune to meet many types of Indian women, both behind the *Purdah*, and in the everyday walks of life, and I desire to pay tribute to their kindliness, hospitality, simplicity and charming naivete, animated by a childlike interest in the affairs of the visitor. They stand for the power in the home, that great unseen force that dominates the characters and development of the future daughters and sons. Indeed the women of India are the builders of the future and on them rather than the men, rests the responsibility of the spiritual welfare of this great nation in the making.

In a composite of beauty I should undoubtedly point out the charms of satiny skins, dark and expressive eyes, full red lips, lustrous and luxuriant hair, naturally lovely lines and curves of features and bodies. But there is a still greater beauty, and it is with this more lasting form that I would leave you.

Loveliness is of the soul ; an inward light that shines through the flesh, like the flame that illuminates the alabaster bowl; beauty that, softly luminous and clear, invests the whole lamp of the body with living light that is enduring. Only that beauty which is from within is recognized as the same the world over, East or West. The qualities of character that make for beautiful thoughts, high ideals and wholesome philosophy, whether Oriental or Occidental and whatever race or creed, give the same ennobling touch of immortality. The externals may differ, but after all, we are the creatures of change, the slaves of time, and the victims of fleshly decay.

> "Each morn a thousand roses bring you say,
> Yes, but where blooms the rose of yesterday"?

Only that beauty which comes from within is everlasting. Beauty of the soul as well as of the body may be cultivated, and it is only in the combination of the two that we may find perfection here on earth.

LILY SRICKLAND-ANDERSON

CHARLES G. DAWES

(The Republican Nominee for the Vice-Presidency.)

In all my life of study, one of my main purposes has been to apply scientific methods to political and sociological subjects, as far as it is possible. It is with this idea, that I present a study of Charles G. Dawes, similar to the one on President Coolidge, recently made by me.

In the study of man from a moral point of view, an individual is important to the community, in the degree that he adds to it, more than he takes from it, and from the scientific point of view, man may be estimated not only by great deeds done and high offices held, but by his mental products. We, therefore, invite the reader's careful attention to the life and aphorisms of Charles G. Dawes.

Dawes—A Conservative Progressive.

The life and ideas of Charles G. Dawes show him to be a conservative progressive, when he says in one of his writings: "*To whom shall we listen? To the radical altogether? No. In part, yes. To the Conservative altogether? No. In part, yes.*" (See Aphorisms Nos. 11 and 12.)

This statement of Dawes is the essence of conservative progressivism, the road to success in finance and statesmanship. It is the keynote to practical progressivism; that is progressive to such an extent, that it is carried out successfully; that is, a progressivism, which does not produce such a reaction, as to be stopped by the environment, and still further set back. Doubtless there are many reforms, with which we all sympathise, but under present conditions they are most improbable, if not impossible.

Conservative Progressivism, the Golden Mean.

The term "progressive" in politics, may mean any degree, from conservatism to extreme socialism, if not anarchy. Successful business men are regarded as conservative, but they hardly could be successful, without being progressive, for the word progress is the root meaning of progressive, and connotes the idea of success. In fact, great business firms are progressive, but conservatively so. Otherwise they might fail and go into bankruptcy. In short, the history, not only of business but of our country, is one of conservative progressivism. Here the dominant idea is the golden mean. Thus we have two Houses of Congress, one nearest the people, and the other to counteract any excessiveness. It is a wise compromise which our fathers made, and has proved to be the golden mean in enacting laws in the most successful country of the world. In fact, almost all successful legislation is a compromise (see Aphorism No. 106). In all serious and honest difference of opinion in life, where action is required, compromise is necessary, and the most lasting and honourable compromise is that which follows the golden mean. Moreover, nature herself is progressive, but conservatively so, science the same. Once in a while an extreme thing succeeds, but here also the preparation for it may have gone on unobserved. It is said the little chick, just out of the egg, hits the cornel of corn in the first effort. But the chick, when in the egg, had been previously picking at the shell, in order to get out.

Life of Dawes.

Charles Gates Dawes was born in Marietta, Ohio, August 27, 1865. He is the son of General Rufus R. Dawes, who commanded the famous Iron Brigade of Wisconsin in the Civil War, and was cited for distinguished service in the battle of Gettysburg. Dawes, like Coolidge, is of Puritan stock, his ancestry running back to William Dawes, who came to America in 1628, and was well known in Salem and Boston. One of his brothers, Beeman Dawes of Columbus, Ohio, was a member of the 59th and 60th Congresses. A study of the family ancestry will show a distinguished hereditary strain. Dawes graduated from Marietta College in 1884 at the age of 19. He entered the Cincinnati Law School, graduating in 1886. During his college years, he helped pay his expenses, as Chief Engineer on a small railroad in Ohio.

In 1886 he went to Lincoln, Nebraska, and entered the law partnership of Dawes, Coffroth and Cunningham which became a leading firm of public utility counsellors in the State. He became interested in gas plants and developed some large enterprises in several western states. He went to Wisconsin and remained there awhile as President of the Lacrosse Gas Light Company. Finally, he moved to Evanston, Illinois, where he has since resided. As he may preside over the Senate, it might be interesting to know the difference between the hot air that comes from the Senate Chamber and the hot air outside. I asked a veteran Senate guard one hot summer day, and he said that the hot air from the Senate had gas in it.

Dawes in Politics.

Dawes entered politics in 1896, when he succeeded in having the Illinois Delegation in the Republican Convention instructed for McKinley. In recognition of this, Mark Hanna, the Senator from Ohio, had him made a member of the Republican National Executive Committee. He was prominently mentioned for the Senate in 1920, but refused to enter the race. On June 21, 1921, Dawes notified President Harding that he would accept the position of Director of the Bureau of the Budget. Nothing would have tempted him into public life again, except a new and great undertaking with a good chance of success.

Prior to his inauguration, President Harding had discussed with Dawes the position of Secretary of the Treasury, but it had no attractions for him, after he found that officially, he would not be charged with the work which he was doing under the Budget law. Dawes did not expect his nomination for the Vice-Presidency, for in his few remarks he made at Marietta, he says ;

> "The placing of my name before the Convention and the subsequent nomination were a complete surprise;"......"You have heard of the Convention's actions and you can easily understand that I did not expect the nomination, but it has come, and I have gratefully accepted it, resolved that whatever it entails, I will do my best."

Dawes in Humanitarian Work.

One practical phase of scientific humanitarian work, is to avoid, as far as possible, giving directly to the needy as we do to beggars, thus developing in the unfortunate the beggarly spirit. To avoid such a dangerous tendency, the idea is to develop thrift and make the recipient feel he is earning his living, and is not an object of charity.

The Rufus F. Dawes Hotel is an illustration of this principle. It was established by Dawes in memory of his son, Rufus F. Dawes, who was drowned in Lake Geneva, Wisconsin. The idea of this hotel was to provide men with accommodations at reasonable figures but with lower charges. It assumes its guests are gentlemen and appreciate gentlemanly treatment ; that is, the management is not solicitous as to the mental state, religious belief, or daily occupation of the guests, a large deficit was expected, but it did not occur. In the first year's operation, about 1,70,000 men were lodged and 59,000 fed, and employment found for 1,570.

Dawes as a Financier and Business Man.

Dawes' book on the Banking System of the United States, published in 1894, made him regarded as an authority on finance and economics (see Aphorisms on Banks, Nos. 43 to 61). This work was instrumental in his being appointed Comptroller of the Currency in 1898. He gave up this office in 1901, and organized the Central Trust Company of Illinois becoming Chairman of its Board of Directors.

Dawes in the preface of his book called himself a business man, to whom his dealings with banks in ordinary course of business, had suggested preparing a work on the Banking System of the United States.

Dawes' War Record.

The moment we entered the war, Dawes volunteered for the front and went to France in an engineer regiment. He had become acquainted with Pershing when he was military instructor at the University of Nebraska. He was made purchasing agent for the American Expeditionary Force, with the rank of Brigadier General and soon after was appointed to the military board of allied supply where he showed himself fully efficient in his work. There were no precedents to guide, but by his business experience, native intelligence, energy and resourcefulness, he brought order out of a labyrinth of difficulties. His conduct as a "rookie" soldier gave him renown among his friends. After he returned to the United States, he was awarded the Distinguished Service Medal; the Order of Leopold and Commander of Legion d'Honneur. When called before an investigating Committee of Congress at Washington, he defended the American Expeditionary Forces, when he said, "there are too many pin-heads (see Aphorism, No. 27) throwing mud," with an explosion of his famous "hell'n Maria." "If you men would spend more time trying to stem the millions of waste going on under your noses, we would have a hell of a lot better government." "Helen Maria," which he repeated several times in his testimony before the Committee, was an expletive associated with his name; for years he was referred to by his friends, as "Helen Maria Dawes."

Director of Bureau of the Budget.

Dawes in June of 1921 was appointed as the First Director of the Budget, with the understanding, that he would resign at the end of the fiscal year. As in the army experience, he made contemporaneous notes of progress of the work and plans: these have been published. This work outlines: (1) the revision of the estimates and the presentation of the Budget to Congress, and (2) the re-organization of the routine business of government through the use by the President of the Budget Bureau, as an agency of executive pressure (see Aphorisms, Nos. 108-116). Dawes super-imposed in France a system of business co-ordination over the decentralized services in the army. Through his experience, he felt justified in undertaking an analogous task under President Harding, to inaugurate a system of co-ordinating business control over the various Departments and Independent Establishments of the Government, which for one hundred and thirty two years have been almost completely decentralized. Having served his country so well abroad, his services at home have been no less distinguished, being the founder and director of the Budget system (see Aphorism No. 112), which has saved hundreds of millions to the United States.

Chairman of the Reparation Commission.

His next appointment was as head of the committee of experts sent to Europe, to determine Germany's ability to pay reparations (see Aphorisms, Nos. 114-120).

At the opening of the experts' conference in Paris, Dawes made a characteristic and straightforward talk. He said he could not speak officially for the United States, but "only as an individual." He also spoke of "the incessant misrepresentations and intolerable interjections of those foul and carrion-loving vultures the nationalistic demagogues of all countries—who would exploit their pitiful personalities out of common misfortune" (see Aphorism, No. 27). He added: "Let us first help Germany to get well." Some of the experts wanted to go slow on the job and play golf several days of the week. Dawes objected in these words: "When we have something important to accomplish in America, we work mornings, afternoons, evenings and nights, and do not take time off to play golf or anything else." The results he accomplished in his war experience were a scientific foundation as a financier for his success as leader of the Reparation Commission. Dawes has acquired international fame as an efficient, far-sighted and energetic man.

Characteristics of Dawes.

To illustrate Dawes' fairness, he once earnestly advocated the insurance of bank deposits, which would lessen withdrawals in times of panics. But when he became Comptroller of the Currency in 1898, he studied this question again, and found he could not support his former views. His former views would have been popular, having many superficial advantages, but a uniform rate of taxation would be unjust, for the rate should vary with the risk, according to the principles of insurance.

His broad views are shown, when he was urged in a Congressional hearing, to speak of the bank of which he was president; he replied, that it was of no interest to the country as to whether his bank would avail itself of the privileges proposed; that he desired to speak with reference to the interests of the country as a whole.

At the commencement exercises of Marietta College, he made some remarks, applying some of the ideas in his Aphorisms, which I have compiled and placed at the end of this study. He said : " The world and this country need leadership enough to face the crowd and fight for an unpopular truth (see Aphorisms, Nos. 5, 6, 7). " Our fathers of the north-west need the truth, rather than the honeyed cure-all promises of the quack politicians."

Dawes is a many-sided man. He is a financier, banker, lawyer and author. He is musically inclined, composing a " Melody in A Major," recently published. He is no trimmer, weasel words are not his; he has strong convictions, makes up his own mind, and speaks without fear or favour. He will say what ought to be said, without regard to its political effect, or the popular mood of the moment. Dawes is a product of Americanism of the West, as Coolidge is of New England. Both are of good stock, a basis for solid achievement. He has gained his place in an American manner, by intelligence, energy and character. What he thinks he says and with force, there is no mistaking his meaning. Dawes, like Roosevelt, goes whole-heartedly into whatever he undertakes. He is one hundred per cent. American, with such genuine patriotism as caused him to lay aside all business and other ties and with great enthusiasm plunge into the war. His executive ability was evident. His efficiency, energy and especially optimism had great influence upon those whom he met in the allied armies. The same characteristics were influential on the Reparation Committee of Experts, which with him as Chairman, worked the great plan of adjusting the reparations, by stabilizing German finances and industry. If the plan succeeds, as now seems probable, it means peace in Europe, due to the financial efficiency of Charles G. Dawes, as much as any other factor, and makes him one of the distinguished men of the world.

Dawes' Aphorisms.

1. A man can be a complete Christian gentleman, without being a prig, without failing to be a good fellow and without bending to debasing environment.
2. Inactive men and inert things do not interest others in this rushing day.
3. I am never a sympathizer with a postponement of the correction of an evil.
4. The natural leader while he keeps his head, keeps his eyes only on the runners in front, and not on the multitude behind; that is why the truly great are so often humble.
5. We do not seem to have many with that courage of statesmanship, which stands against that which is wrong, when it is unpopular to do so. Thus
6. It is not the highest test of strength to lead aroused public sentiment, but the highest test is to oppose it, when it is wrong.
7. A President loves popularity, and yet the President, who does right must at times risk its temporary loss.
8. No moral victory is ever easy or ever accidental.
9. My father's constant and consistent teaching to his children was, that above all things in the world—above wealth, above fame, above pleasure—must be placed character. For
10. In a man's character is his real career.

Our Country.

11. If our Government is to last, the people of the United States must voice their ultimate conviction in vital matters. And
12. To whom shall we listen? To the radical altogether? No. In part, yes. To the conservative, altogether? No. In part, yes.
13. We are all of us—or should be to some extent politicians, but we are first American citizens.
14. I was so homesick, when I came home from Europe once, until I saw the Fire Island Light House, and realized what was behind it; it then seemed, as if I would not tread three square miles of it, for the whole continent of Europe.

15. When a nation becomes prosperous, it becomes critical. (Personally I have very little use for the critic.) Yet we need criticism, that is to tear down, for the purpose of building up afterwards. But such
17. Critics must bear the lash, for it is the doers and not the drones, who attract people's attention.
18. Much criticism is useful, but much of it is exceedingly harmful to the public good.
19. The ever living question in a republic is the relation of the centralization of power to the diffusion of power.
20. In danger to our country true patriotism is to try to avoid it, rather than to wait in an unreal and fancied security until danger has become disaster.
21. The growth of American commerce and manufacture has helped to make our country the happiest and best land in the world. And
22. Our people believe that these questions can be settled in a manner, which will not hinder commercial and national progress, and that they can be protected without backward steps in social development. So
23 Let this great problem be settled by the optimist and statesman, rather than by the pessimist and demagogue.

Government.

So far as right to life, liberty and pursuit of happiness are concerned all men are created equal, but

24. A government makes a man free only in so far as his freedom does not interfere with or infringe upon similar rights to other men. For
25. Liberty to the individual is not inconsistent with the control over him of the government, under which he lives.
26. It is not a question of what is best theoretically in life, but what is best at the time being, considering the rights and the opinions of others who have a voice in the government.
27. When there floats into the government service a new chief, a puffed-up political appointee full of ambition, conceit and desire to impress his little pitiful personality upon the country and without knowledge tells a veteran officer how

to conduct things, there is a universal look of disappointment, if not despair, familiar to experienced chiefs.

28. A nation is like the individual, subject to the same laws and offered by his Creator the same inducements for sobriety and industry.

29. The great desideratum in government for any people, is that form, which will bring the greatest good to the greatest number, by insuring to the individual his inalienable rights.

Business.

30. In the management of all business, there must be centralization of responsibility and power.

31. In business, what will probably happen in the future is what has usually happened in the past. For no history repeats itself quite so exactly as financial history.

32. Where business is done largely upon a credit basis the cycle is first a panic; second, industrial stagnation and low prices; third, reviving confidence, higher prices and increase in business activity; and fourth, speculation; overproduction, overcapitalization, excessive borrowing, until the first condition, such as a security panic is again starting. This cycle occurs in the United States about once in ten years, but more severe panics occur every twenty years (1818, 1837, 1857, 1873, 1893).

33. In business, the world is hard, has always been so, and always will be.

Money.

34. Fluctuations in money supply, have as direct an effect on prices, as fluctuations in the demand for and supply of any article. Thus

35. As prices rise and fall, so do the hopes and wealth of the business man.

36. The great desideratum in the money is, that its purchasing and debt-paying power remain as stable as possible.

37. If the price of labour, through an enhancement in money, falls, the price of other commodities falls, but if it rises through a depreciation in the standard, the prices of other commodities rise also.

38. The preparation of bank-credit money in business is ordinarily over ten times the amount of cash money.
39. When does money become more valuable and goods less valuable than in a panic, when there is a run on the banks? For
40. When deposits are withdrawn, the value of the dollar increases and the prices of commodities go down.
41. History shows, that currency inflation is followed by speculation, in which bubbles of credit are blown, only to burst and bring a panic.
42. No man lives, no government exists, which can devise an absolutely equitable currency system.

Banks.

43. The service of banks to the community is most important, a yet most commonly ignored. Because
44. The exact relations of our banking system to the business prosperity and money of the United States do not seem to be fully comprehended by our people. For
45. There can be no proper understanding of the monetary problems of the day, unless the relation of the bank-credit money of the country to the money of the Government is fully comprehended.
46. While a bank is viewed as a private corporation organized for profit, it also may be considered as a public corporation, whose officers serve the business community. Thus
47. The profits of a bank are smaller than those of any other private corporation dealing with the community as a whole, and
48. The banks are the creators of the great bulk of money used by the business community. Also
49. The bank serves enterprising citizens who borrow money to carry on industries, upon which many depend for a living. Thus
50. The bank takes small amounts from numerous persons, and places their money in the hands of those, who may make best use of it; otherwise it would be idle capital.
51. The bank is a clearing house, enabling, by the check system, a community to carry on business without the risk and trouble of handling large sums of money.
52. To not a few, the banks act as book-keepers, and furnish information as to the reliability of prospective customers.

53. Every national bank in the United States is considered on a safe basis, when it has on hand in cash and on deposit 25 per cent. of the amount of its total deposits.

54. The federal reserve banks were designed to relieve us from an inelasticity and not a dearth of currency.

55. Through the instrumentality of bank examiners, institutions have been protected from grave danger of insolvency.

56. Credit is built up by the banks, which constitutes the foundation of the circulating medium of the country. For ninety-five per cent. of our business is transacted by checks and drafts.

57. No bank note system is inherently fair, which creates a preference of the note-holder over the deposit-holder, in the distribution of the assets of an insolvent bank.

58. Under normal conditions there is no need of a large amount of emergency circulation, or a high degree of elasticity in bank-note circulation.

59. The banking power of the United States (1908) is nearly forty per cent. of the total banking power of the whole world.

60. We have built our banking system from the bottom up; not from the top down.

61. We have built up our banking system, different from continental Europe. For, we have unique conditions, a unique country and the unique theory, that it is the right of the small institution and the small business man to protection, resulting in our marvellous commercial and banking growth.

62. Upon no other one agency does the prosperity of our people more depend than upon our banking system, which is a part of the web and woof of business.

Confidence.

63. An intelligent debtor understands that forces, which tend to unsettle general confidence in momentary conditions, lead to his greatest oppression and loss. For

64. Such forces not only stimulate creditors into calling for their principal, but frighten others from loaning and investing, necessitating the sale of securities and property at a great sacrifice.

65. A change of standards unsettles credits, banking and business.

66. The most disastrous blow to business consists in the weakening of the confidence of depositors in the ability of our banks to redeem deposits.

67. There is nothing more delicate or dangerous than to tamper with the credits of a nation, for disaster here will drive the knife into the vitals of legitimate and honourable American business.

68. We should prevent the destruction of confidence, upon which the whole prosperity of this nation depends.

69. I would rather have a half dozen of men striving for confidence, than all the much-raking magazine critics, who point out a crack in the sidewalk, and claim that the whole town is going through it.

Investing.

70. The capitalist generally knows what the profit of the seller is and negotiates for a price with the true value in mind. But

71. The small investor generally buys without knowledge of the true value.

72. Many business failures at home are often long-distance millionaires, or broken plunges, whose brief success was widely advertised. Therefore

73. Do not put too much faith in what names seem to mean, but find out from one who knows, before you invest.

74. Business men who "take a flyer," can generally afford to lose, and generally do.

75. Try to invest your money with successful business men in the business in which they have succeeded.

76. As to advertised stock, be sceptical, but if it tempts you to invest, before doing so investigate and ask: "Who are you?"; "Refer me to those whom I know"; "Is the stock in a company, and in what percentages is it allotted"; "What per cent. of the stock has gone to the people, who formerly owned the property"; "What per cent. represents good-will?" "What per cent. is sold for cash, and does it go to the company's treasury, or to buy stock already issued for good-will to others?" "What is the relation of the cash cost to the amount of stock issued?" "Has it ample working capital?" "What is its indebtedness?" "Are its titles in dispute?" "What are the salaries of the officers?"

77. In buying stock, we hear of the successes, but seldom of the failures which outnumber them.

78. It is little wonder that the small investor with the rapid increase of wealth, does not feel satisfied with three per cent. interest. Yet

79. In the vast majority of cases, moderate sums cannot be invested safely, so as to bring more than a reasonable interest. For

80. The capitalist can easily buy from others; but the small investor is in the position, where others are desirous of selling to him. The capitalist can buy cheap, whether the seller is making a profit or not.

81. The small investor in answering an advertisement to buy, always pays a profit to the seller, and at his price.

82. Exceptionable bargains in stocks do not, as a rule, need to be advertised.

Restraint of Trade.

83. Rather than let a trust fix prices of the necessities of life, the people will either have governmental regulation, or enforced competition by the disintegration of trusts.

84. Laws forbidding combinations in restraint of trade and Laws regulating rates of corporations, are founded upon public necessity. But

85. There are certain agreements in restraint of trade, which keep alive competition; that is the "live and let live" policy of unrestrained competition, which is the cause of most of the evils, against which we cry. But

86. There are trade agreements, which may restrain trade, yet operate for the public welfare, or at least in a manner not injurious to it.

Corporations.

87. A corporation owes its existence to the impracticability of many owners under co-partnership agreements or contracts.

88. An unfair corporation may be successful and a fair corporation may be unsuccessful, but other things being equal, the fair corporation survives.

89. A fair corporation employs idle capital, pay-rolls are created and

wages distributed, incidental to the creation or development of a useful industry.

90. There is little altruism in corporate policies. And

91. There should be laws to correct abuses, but they should not involve a too radical application of untried remedies.

92. Inert wealth has no power, except when in motion. Many leaders in finance are not men of vast wealth, but by efficiency keep wealth in motion, and

93. Those great leaders who become wealthy, are great because they lead men, and not because of the power, which wealth gives them.

Watered Stock.

94. Watered stock is often essential to the complete fulfilment of fair arrangements between stockholders. But watered stock at fictitious price has come to be very widely condemned. Yet

95. The notion that stock is always watered to sell, or to perpetrate some fraud is erroneous. Thus

96. The public is not necessarily injured because stock at par does not always represent an equal amount of cash or its equivalent. Or

97. Stock may be watered in order to keep the management in control of it.

98. Common stock issues are as much determined by considerations of control as of good-will.

99. Dishonest men may use watered stock to create impressions of value which does not exist, but the abolishment of watered stock would not hinder them.

100. Stock exchanges may be used to create wrong impressions of values, but it is not the water in the stock, but the water in the prices paid, which causes trouble. For

101. By manipulation the apparent demand for a stock may be followed by a real demand, and if bought at an excessive price, the harm is done.

102. We may well distrust the unknown seller of stock, who wants a quick trade.

103. The demagogue is to the statesman, what the "get-rich-quick" mining stock promoter, is to the financier.

Legislation.

104. It is only at times when public sentiment is largely aroused that we can get legislation affecting things in which the great body of our people are interested. For

105. The *status quo,* with the veto power and the passage by the two Houses of Congress, are such, that it is very difficult to disturb legislative conditions, except when public feeling is generally aroused to the necessity of action.

106. With our diversified interests and opinions and with the great breadth of our country, any legislation, which will be passed in this country will be composite, and a compromise.

107. I do not think panics can ever be avoided, but their evil results can be very greatly mitigated by legislation providing for emergency circulation.

The Budget.

108. The object of the Budget law is to establish correct business methods in the governmental administration of our country.

109. 'It gives the President an opportunity to become in fact, as he has been in theory, the head of governmental business administration in the United States.

110. In government business, as in private, constant executive attention under plan and policy finds itself reflected in efficiency and economy. While

111. Executive indifference translates itself into extravagance; for the minute the impression is created, that the Executive eye and eyes of his agents are not watchful, Budget law or no Budget law, the system will fail.

112. As advisers of the President in national policies, Cabinet officers can stand upon their dignity but as administrators of routine business, they must be subordinate at all times to the President.

113. The Director of the Budget is simply an adviser of the President and Congress in the matter of correcting business administration, and in this capacity takes precedence over the heads of departments or independent organisations.

114. The indefensible system of governmental accounting renders possible almost any kind of misconstruction on the fiscal figures of the government.

115. It is extremely difficult to tell where wise spending ends and unwise spending begins in a government organization, not intended to make money for profit.

116. The Bureau of the Budget is impersonal, impartial and non-political, and thus it must always remain.

Reparation Commission.

117. Good faith is the foundation of all business and the best safeguard for universal peace.

118. The committee of experts of the Reparation Commission does not seek to inflict penalties, but to assist the economic recovery of all the European peoples, for the standpoint adopted has been that of business and not politics.

119. The payment of her debt is Germany's necessary contribution to repairing the damage of the war.

120. The reconstruction of Germany is not an end in itself; it is only part of the larger problem of the reconstruction of Europe.

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ARTHUR MACDONALD

DREAM AND TELEPATHY

If anything was able to excite the psychological interest of mankind it is the dream: known to all, now and then exciting the deepest emotion within everyone and yet a riddle to all. The most favourable conditions for the origin of a science—would the riddle only not be too obscure!

Thus the waves of scientific interest stow on this dyke; and as they were not able to overflow it or to break it through, they took their flowing-off through the lowlands of superstition and fiction.

What makes the reading of the riddle of dream so difficult, is the exceedingly variegated, I may say puzzling, variety of its forms of apparitions. But, nevertheless, there is no reason to get desperate and as there are good brains occupying themselves with this matter, it is a sign that we are further than years ago. Who altogether would have thought of the possibility that the state of the ether can be changed in the days before Faraday-Maxwell-Hertz! And to-day we use the electro-magnetic oscillations based on them for practical purposes (wireless telegraphy and telephony), meanwhile the theoretical scientist is calculating the mechanism of them, as if it were evident.

The experimental research of dreams is still in its first elements. Not only our up-to-date experiences about the efficiency and the progress of post-hypnotic suggestions, but also our present knowledge of the telepathic phenomena admit the possibility to influence dreams as well as to produce them. But the experiences in this sphere are not numerous up to the present time; still there lie before us the experiments of the *Society for Psychical Research* (S. P. R.) and also those of the sensitive, unfortunately too early deceased Karl Schroetter. Many materials on this question have been contributed by Charles Richet, Pierre Janet, Emile Boirac, Julian Ochorowicz, D. G. Ermacora, Fred Van Eeden and O. Pfister. But the number of the critically researched clearly telepathic dreams is very large. There is a rich collection in the work "Phantasms of the Living," edited under the auspices of the S. P. R.; then in the "Proceedings" and in the "Journal" of this Society. Lately, Wilhelm Stekel occupied himself with this subject in his "Dreams of the Poets" and especially in his "*Telepathic Dreams*" and, of late, Professor Sigmund Freud chose this problem as a subject for his lecture, "*Dream and Telepathy*," in the Viennese Psycho-analytic Association (reprinted in "Imago," VIII, 1 of 1922). In this lecture Freud analyzed two probably telepathic dreams, related to him by correspondents in Germany, but he denied the supposition of a telepathic union between these dreams and the incidents in connection with them, and he is right in doing so. But Freud and his intimate circle doubt altogether of the existence of "telepathic" dreams; for the telepathic dream contradicts the "theory of dreams" by Prof. Freud. It is never a "realisation of wishes." And, therefore, the psycho-analysis would not acknowledge the telepathic dreams. But a real impartial judgment of the telepathic dreams must prove to every analytician the reality of telepathic dreams. Surely it must be said in this connection that it is recommendable for the interest of a scientifically exact definition not to speak about telepathic dreams in the future, but telepathic occurrences in the state of sleep! It is true, Herbert Silberer thinks the world of dreams to be the dreamer's own creation "even then, when he is considered as subdued to any influences (for instance, telepathic ones)," but Freud's comprehension is in this point proved to be more correct, as he says that "dreams come from inside, that they are productions of our soul, whilst the very 'telepathic dream' in his opinion is a perception from outside, to which the soul behaves itself recepting." Telepathy has nothing to do with the nature of dreams and is not able to deepen our analytic intelligence of the dreams. But psycho-analysis is able to promote the study of telepathy, bringing many inconceivablenesses of telepathic phenomena nearer to our understanding by the help of its interpretations, or proving that the nature of other still doubtful phenomena is telepathic.

Under telepathy is to be understood, according to the nomenclature coined by F. W. H. Myers (S. P. R.), the translation of an idea, of a feeling or of an impulse of one living person to another at such a distance and under such conditions, that the possibility of common physical communications by the known senses of body is excluded. Accordingly, telepathy is favoured by the state of sleep (already known to the Ancients, then to Agrippa, Paracelsus and others), though the latter is not an indispensable condition for the generation of telepathic events.

The corresponding supposition of telepathy is a telergy; that of feeling in the distance an action in the distance. But within which limits telepathy and telergy are possible is thoroughly unknown up to date, but it would be of the greatest interest to know their highest limits. The incidents described in the following lines, might probably reach and mark this highest limit. The well-known author Carl Vogl relates in his book "Immortality" the following singular event: A friend of Vogl's wished to convince a person of his acquaintance about the reality of such occurrences—as feeling an action at a distance—as soon as there was an opportunity. In sleep he sees himself in the dwelling of his acquaintance and has the following dialogue with him: "I came to bring you the promised proofs. Do you know that we both are dreaming now?" The other: "What are you thinking? I must really know myself whether I am dreaming or awake." Then follows a dispute, during which the other gets more and more excited by the insinuation that he might experience all this in a dream and declares his opponent to be ill. At the end follows the invitation of his friend, and the other one was to repeat the promise five times to call on him next morning at a fixed hour. The promise is given and repeated five times that it may be well inculcated. After this the gentleman wakes up and immediately notes the discussion in the dream. The next morning at the appointed time quite uncommonly early, conventionally impossible time the other comes, saying: "Don't laugh, I don't know, why I am coming so early. I worked late yesterday night, felt then suddenly sleepy and laid down myself on my bed quite dressed; then I had a vivid dream but only remember, that we quarrelled badly with each other and that I was forced to promise you something five times."

The friend fetches the note and intimates to his visitor the origin of the dispute in the dream.

Yet more astonishing—though belonging to the same kind of facts—is the following case, for the truth of which I take the responsibility. It concerns a friend of mine, Francis L. Richtmann. A disciple of Rubinstein and Liszt, he was himself an excellent pianist, yet he got tired of playing and withdrew himself entirely into private life. With increased zeal he continued his experimental studies in para-psychic sphere, applied himself to certain systematic exercises (a kind of Indian Yoga) and obtained in this way as well an astonishing rule over his organism, as an extended domination over the organs not subdued to the will in the normal consciousness, *i. e.*, the muscle of the heart. At the same time his consciousness in dream developed in a special direction by generating a certain continuity of dream-consciousness that he finally felt himself to be a consolidated personality as well in dream as in his waking life. In these "dreams" a person arose now, whom of course he did not know in his state of wakefulness, but who soon took the part of a teacher and especially gave him instructions for his exercises. So far the case would be nothing wonderful in itself except what would had been already known in this form or another as "dissociation of personality," phenomena of "incarnation" and so on. But there comes something thoroughly new in this case, as far as I know. This case shows not only the extent to which the human consciousness might develop, but also possibilities of action and reaction that are latent in it and to what degree they can be developed under the influence of suitable means (exercises of concentration, and so on). In one of such dreams this mysterious partner of his dreams explained to my friend, that he is just a living man as my friend himself and that he would meet him in this shape, if he could make his mind to travel to Rome.

Richtmann made the journey to Rome and indeed met there his teacher under the circumstances planned in "dream" —I cannot give nearer details but to convince the readers about the truth of these occurrences, I have mentioned the personal experiences of Mr. R., who after all was a scientifically and philosophically highly educated and considerate personality, whom I could count as one of my best friends during eleven years and up to his death, which took place in 1919.

The phenomena of telepathy in the state of sleep have been observed during the last twenty-two years by the Rev. C. B. Sanders and have been proved by the researches of the psychologist Prof. William James and Dr. R. Hodgson and have been reported in a small book, edited in 1876, under the somewhat strange title : X- Y-Z or the Sleeping Preacher of North Alabama.

The reported occurrences represent, it is true, rarissimas on para-psychic sphere at least on our regions, but a non-preoccupied study of the Yoga-philosophy informs every one that the Hindoos possess an astonishing knowledge of various parapsychical phenomena and their dynamic influences for centuries. I may believe, that all that is produced somewhere in European circles as to the exercises of concentration remains only at the periphery of Indian absorption. According to the numerous notes from India, there can be no doubt that a further continuation of such concentrations and contemplations has a peculiarly strong effect on the human mind. We always have the impression that the Indian Yogi has a complete mastery over his mind. The further study of it is a serious task, that could produce important results even for the psychological self-education. A deeper study of these concentrations is impossible, at least in Europe. The whole European mind is much too active, and much too concerned with worldly interests, to give itself up to such psychological experiments. The study of Indian absorptions must take place in India. It is, therefore, of such great psychological importance, because—if the informations brought back by the travellers are correct and true—it would represent a method to gain the rule over those parts of the organisms, that are not subdued by the will, as well as the production of mediumistic phenomena. The European mediumism is a gift of chance. Abnormal para-psychic phenomena appear in certain people, but we don't know why and when. In India the problem of methodical development has apparently been solved for many centuries. (I am, however, certain that the *mediumship* and *Yogaship* are *essential contrasts* !) It is surprising that the Indian physicians have uptodate apparently not written works on the subject, except the " Comparison of Hypnotism with the Yoga-system of the Hindoos " by Dr. Thamo Tharam Pillay. As there are Universities in India, that should really be only natural. Or have the publications on such experiments appeared in Indian newspapers ?—Of course it must not be forgotten, that such experiments as these would have first of all to overcome considerable difficulties in order to come into close contact with the individuals in question. Hindoos themselves, who have studied the European knowledge, would have to take the work upon themselves. In spite of this it appears to me that even the learned Hindoos cannot easily get into contact with the Sadhus. Nevertheless, learned Hindoos would have to try to get as close relation as possible with them. Therefore, I should like to call together all those who have a psychological as well as philosophical interest in the problems to an active collaboration. As to our special theme :—Dream and Telepathy —there surely will be many people that have personal experiences—spontaneous as well as experimental ones—in this sphere.

WILHELM WRCHOVSZKY

INTERPRETATION OF BEHAVIOUR

Movements of any object cannot be regarded as "behaviour." Both living and non-living things may act in the same way when stimulated in the same manner. Sir J. C. Bose in his "Irritability of the Living and Non-living" has clearly shown that the same phenomena such as staircase fatigue, refractory and others are produced as much by the inorganic objects as by the organic ones on chemical stimulation. Many things that were originally produced only through organic processes are now produced in the Laboratory. This discovery has led many scientists to conclude that the hitherto supposed distinction between the organic and inorganic energy does not exist. So there should not be any distinction in the movements characteristic of the two classes of things. But can the two kinds of energy be rightly placed on the same plane and all distinctions be merged totally? I think it is not so. Bethmism is a phenomenon peculiar to living things. Life is in its essence a process, and a process of a very peculiar kind.

An organism has the power of maintaining itself for a longer or shorter period in a state of equilibrium with its environment and thereby preserving itself from destruction. A piece of metal becomes corroded by oxidation, or worn away by friction. And the same oxidation and friction also work upon the organism, but there, they are held in check for a longer or shorter period by the automatic processes of repair and renewal. No such automatic adjustment can be found in inorganic matter.

The process of self-multiplication can be attributed only to living things. But Samuel Butler has indulged in the somewhat fantastic suggestion that some day the construction of machines might be so perfected that they also would be able to reproduce their kind and the little steam-engines would be seen playing about the door of the engine-shed. Of course it does not seem possible that machines will grow in this way; but if it be so then there is perhaps no reason why they should not be entitled to be called living organism like plants or animals.

The organism is often compared with an inorganic crystal and an essentially crystalline character is attributed to it. But the crystal consists primarily of like molecules while the organism is a complex of many different kinds of molecules. So Mr. Child says there is no optical or other evidence that protoplasm in general is fundamentally crystalline in structure. In the face of this distinct difference in the constituents of the protoplasmic and inorganic substances none will perhaps be justified in saying that the internal processes in the two substances on stimulation will be identical in nature merely on the ground that they produce the same external phenomena. There is undoubtedly an unity in the crystal but the unity of the crystal is a static unity while the unity of the organic individual is a dynamic one. We cannot ignore the metabolism, *i.e.*, the formative agent in the organism.

So it is very difficult to get rid of the facts that tend obviously to show the distinction between the organic and inorganic energies. They cannot be brought under the same class. So we cannot treat them in the same way. The principle that works at the basis of the activities of inorganic matter cannot prove adequate to explain the facts of organic matter. Movements of inorganic things are merely physical or mechanical processes. They must be distinguished from the marks of life. By behaviour also we commonly mean the action or actions of some living thing. We sometimes speak of the behaviour of inert things—such things as tools, or weapons. We may say of a ship: "She is behaving badly to-day." In such cases we use the word playfully. We playfully regard the object as alive and more or less playfully personify it. So behaviour is peculiar to living things. But even amongst the living things every movement cannot be recognised as an instance of behaviour unless it presents certain peculiarities in itself by which it is distinguished from all merely physical or mechanical movements.

In behaving, an animal does not become a mere sport of the forces that play upon it from without. It is behaving in so far as it actively resists the force. The behaviour may be initiated by an external stimulus or force but it must continue independently of the initiating stimulus. The creature will strive persistently towards an end and will not cease when it meets with an obstacle. We can mark such striving even in the behaviour of the humblest and simplest animal, Amœba. When one larger Amœba tries to engulf a smaller one it undergoes a series of movements which cannot be explained as tropisms or reflexes. (H. E. Jennings—"The Behaviour of Lower Organisms.)

The reflex movement seems to be of a mechanical or quasi-mechanical character. It is more or less a partial reaction while in behaviour the whole organism is involved and the energy of the whole organism seems to be concentrated. So a reflex action cannot be recognised as an instance of behaviour. The plant reaction also does not come within the category of behaviour. The activities of the plant are entirely immanent and very largely limited to growth reaction instead of being transient motor reactions like those in animals.

Prof. McDougall calls the behaviour of even animalcules purposive, and seems to lay too much emphasis upon the purposiveness of behaviour. But by 'purposive' he does not exactly mean 'adaptive.' Of course it cannot be denied that there is an end to be attained in the behaviour. Even some of the mechanical psychologists admit it but they define it in a non-psychological manner and describe as purposive all actions which seem to be serviceable to the life of the animal or its species. According to this criterion simple reflex action such as the withdrawal of the foot from a sharp contact or the scratch reflex of the dog's hind leg are to be recognised as serviceable and therefore puposive. Thus mechanists proceed as if animals had no minds or rather as if mind were a kind of behaviour observable by outside means.

So McDougall wants to lay bare the inner aspect of the behaviour and in doing so he describes it to be purposive. It is true that cognitive, conative and also affective elements are all involved in the animal behaviour. But in the description of the mental aspect we should seize upon and describe those elements that stand out most clearly and prominently. So, when we say that the action is purposive we mean by it that the action has been governed by the prevision of what lies in the future. The end has been foreseen for purpose by itself implies foresight and deliberation. Means to the attainment of the end are consciously chosen. But such a power of ideation cannot be attributed to the mental life of lower organisms. So emphasis should not be laid upon the cognitive or ideational aspect of the mental activity of the animalcule in behaviour. The cognitive aspect is ill defined and sketchy in lower organisms while the conative force is very prominent, definite and specific. So behaviour is more conative than cognitive in lower organisms. Birds migrate in a particular season. The seasonal changes in the environment as well as the internal changes in the organism take part in exciting in them a strong conative impulse for flight. They do not study the situation nor plan out a means of escape nor are they guided in their long flight by a purpose foreseen by them. The same process takes place in the migration of fishes in the spawning season. Here some kind of conation accompanied by a restless feeling which accentuates it works as an active tendency directed to an end. But this end is an end for an external observer not so much for the animal itself in the determination of its movements. The excitation of the conative tendency will suffice in it. The animal need not have the anticipation of the end or a selection of the special means by which the end is to be attained. It is precisely this deficiency in foresight which is supplied by the inherited constitution of its nervous system as pre-adjusted for a certain mode of behaviour in certain circumstances. This innate motor mechanism does not work automatically but requires to be set in operation by the urgency of conative impulse. So the conative character is the most fundamental feature in animal behaviours in general. The cognitive process may be subservient to it.

Behaviourists seek to interpret behaviours frankly in terms of the condition which give rise to them. They do not go to find out the underlying forces of behaviour or to determine the agencies which connect certain stimuli with certain behaviours. They depend entirely upon a purely factual study of behaviour and in their view, all speculations regarding the nexus between certain conditions and certain responses may be abandoned.

So L. Morgan says, "now when one is dealing not with crystal which is differentiated within a solution but with a percept which is differentiated within experience, I conceive that the same limitations should be imposed on scientific treatment. The metaphysician, no doubt, may explain it by reference to an underlying cause, the conscious ego, the agency of self-activity by which it is produced: but the man of science can only explain it by reference to the antecedent and accompanying conditions in relation to the generalization which have been found to hold good in such cases." So behaviourists will interpret the behaviour of an organism in terms of the antecedent conditions that brought about the response. But can we maintain this air of isolation from all speculation regarding the underlying determinants of behaviour? Should we not like to know why the organism responds as it does to the conditions? The mere knowledge of the conditions to which the organism is subjected cannot satisfy us unless we have the knowledge of the force that works from within. We must try to explain why an organism responds as it does when confronted with certain circumstances and why the organisms are active at all.

It has been generally believed that this organic behaviour in response to certain circumstances is to be ascribed to the function of an instinct. Of course, none can deny that instinct is the spring of actions and all energy is derived from it. But modern writers have given no fixed meaning to the term instinct. It has been subjected to an extremely varied usage and there is hardly any substantial agreement in the definition of the term instinct. But all the definitions can fairly be grouped into three kinds, *viz.*, neurological, biological and psychological. And the differences of definition seem to be prompted by differences of emphasis. All observers find, in general, the same set of facts, but their accounts and interpretations vary in accordance with the more or less definite viewpoints from which they undertake the observations of those facts.

James says, "Instincts are the functional correlative of structure." This assumes that with the presence of an organ or of a structure in a certain state there is the aptitude and tendency to use it in a certain way. Thorndike also supports it when he explains pleasure and pain in terms of readiness and unreadiness of neurones to act.

But if instincts be regarded as functional correlatives of structure then it is very difficult to account for the contrary impulses which are manifested by the same organism. If the same structure may act in opposite and various ways then what the structure does is to present a number of possibilities for action,—other factors are to determine which possibility shall be realised. So, does not the structure become a limiting factor and not the determining one of behaviour? Spencer also regards instincts as compound reflex actions. But a careful analysis of the illustrations he has chosen will, at once, make it clear that his instances are not instances of instincts proper, but of more or less elaborate neuro-muscular instances.

We should not call a spade a club and then argue that because it is a club, it cannot be a spade.

Thorndike seems to say that organisms do not respond to certain stimuli as they do merely because they have a certain structure. If you wish to know why the structure responds in one way rather than another you will have to know the history of the species. You must make an appeal to phylogeny. The impulse is here supposed to be inherited as a result of the adaptation of the species. Thorndike says, "Teasing, bullying, cruelty are thus in part the results of one of nature's means of providing self and family with food and what grew up as a pillar of human self-support has become so extravagant a luxury as to be almost a vice." (Educational Psychology, B.C.)

Now this instinctive explanation of the teasing of children to-day by reference to the hunting activities of our ancestors can hardly be justified; in one case there is an economic drive while in the other cruelty is involved. The process of transition is entirely ignored. It is difficult to conceive how the instinct to secure food turns into a malicious desire to annoy through the succession of generation.

The theory of recapitulation may be cited to support the transference of the impulse from phylogeny to ontogeny. According to this theory the individual goes through the same stages of development that the species did in its evolution. It does not say anything in regard to the origin of all impulses and instincts in our ancestors. So the theory, rightly understood, is an invitation for an explanation rather than an explanation itself of the origin of the impulse. Therefore, the attempt to explain behaviour in terms of the race's experience is futile. Does not activity of ancestors require an explanation?

To have an adequate explanation for the behaviour we must go deep into the matter and try to discover the deep underlying causes for the activity. Two questions are naturally raised in connection with the interpretation of action:—why does the organism act at all and why does it act in a particular way in a particular situation?

There must be something enbedded in the organism which impels it to act. It is this something which makes it impossible for the organism to remain inert like a rock or a stick. It is a fundamental force that underlies all life and it is entirely due to this force that the organism is intensely active. It is very difficult to conceive its definite nature, but however obscure its nature may be, undoubtedly it is a directive force that watches over the development of the individual organism. It is by virtue of this primordial energy that the organism is active. Dr. Jung calls it 'Libido'; Prof. Bergson has named it 'Elan vital,' Prof. McDougall speaks of it as undifferentiated vital energy.

Freud interprets this 'libido' entirely in terms of the sex-instinct; and Adler defines it in terms of the will-to-power or the instinct of self-assertion. Boris Sidis stands more or less on the same plane with Adler when he refers all neuroses to some tranma of fear. So the issue between Freud and Adler Sidis is that between race-preservation and self-preservation in general. But Jung has been unable to confine himself to this limitation. He has broadened the concept of 'libido' and has thus proposed a reconciliation between the two extreme views. According to him it is a cosmic energy of life which is manifested not only in sexuality but in various physiological and psychological activities. Sexuality and its various manifestations may be the most important channels utilised by the 'libido,' but not the exclusive ones through which 'libido' flows. This primal 'libido' becomes differentiated and turns into sex-instinct alone which lies merged in the primal 'libido.' All instincts are to be regarded as differentiations or manifestations in different forms of the one primitive 'libido.' The 'libido' is the source of energy which flows through the well-defined conative channels of the excitation of instincts, and supplies the driving power by which all bodily and mental activities are initiated and sustained. It is this conception of instinct that will enable us to trace out the motive deeply hidden and disguised in our activities. It is these instincts that are the main-springs of all our activities, bodily, emotional and intellectual. They are the prime movers of all human activity and supply the spur that prompts and sustains action.

Animal bodies being material there is a persistent endeavour to explain all the behaviour of any animal in terms of the categories of physical science ; but even in the life of the humblest animal there is more than Physics and Chemistry and so the behaviour, even of a protozoan, goes beyond the conception of a physico-chemical machine. The element of 'striving' or 'urge' that is expressed in the incessant adjustments and activities of every animal, no matter what its place is in the scale of life, is the fundamental property that differentiates the living animal from dead matter and that can hardly be adequately explained by physical laws. But the striving of the creature is not a persistent pushing like that of a rocket in the same direction. It is on account of this persistent internal urge that the kind and direction of movement of any animal vary again and again for the attainment of its end and are not predictable in detail. It is perhaps by reason of the absence of this internal drive that the automatic actions of the sympathetic system which are stereotyped or fixed and in which the whole organism is not involved are not to be included within the category of behaviour, and we need not invoke instincts for the interpretation. There is a belief that there is hardly anything of the nature of internal drive or psychic energy among the unicellular animals which are almost structureless in organisation and that they are governed by tropism, but we should not forget that each one of us also begins life first as a speck of jelly and then becomes a man or a critic.

KHIRODE CHANDRA MOOKHERJEE

A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF KASHMIR

The Country.

Physical features.—The territories of His Highness the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir comprise an area of over 80000 square miles. In point of extent, therefore, the State is the largest of all the Indian states with the single exception of Hyderabad which is slightly larger. The country is almost entirely mountainous, varying in height from hillocks of a few hundred feet above the sea level on the Punjab border to the great Himalayan giants from whose crowns the eternal snows never melt. Among these mountain ranges are many valleys of which Kashmir, aptly styled "the Paradise of the Indies" is the largest, most fertile, and most beautiful. It is more or less a level plain, 1600 square miles in area, surrounded on all sides by snow-capped mountain ramparts which have always made access to it very difficult. Its rivers and lakes, its flowers and fruits, its verdant forests, the ever-varying aspect of its skies, and its genial climate throughout the greater part of the year have lent it a charm of which few other tracts in the world can boast.

The mountains may conveniently be classified into three divisions. (1) The region of the Outer Hills, comprising the long ranges to the immediate north of the Punjab and rising to an altitude of 2,000 to 4,000 ft. above the sea. This is mostly bare or covered with scrub. (2) The region of the Middle Mountains ranging on the average between 8,000 and 10,000 ft. in height, though many of the peaks are 14,000 to 15,000 ft. high. The valley of Kashmir forms part of this region. (3) Beyond this great range, the whole tract is at a high level and in a physico-geographical sense may be said to belong to Tibet, the highest inhabited country in the world. The ranges here vary from 17,000 to more than 22,000 ft. in height, and one peak has an altitude of 28,265 ft. and is the second highest peak in the world.

Climate.—In a country which shows such vast differences in altitude, corresponding variations in climate follow as a matter of course. We are not, therefore, surprised to see the arid districts at the southern foot of the Outer Hills being almost literally roasted in the burning heat of the Punjab summer; while at the same time the inhabitants of higher Alpine regions to the north are shivering in the arctic cold of the ice-bound Himalaya. Jammu, on the whole, is hot and dry; Kashmir, temperate in summer and cold in winter; and Ladakh, cold and dry.

People.—To the student of Ethnology and Sociology Kashmir offers an immense and most interesting field for investigation. Living in the Outer Hills on the south is the warlike Dogra Rajput, lithe of limb and strong of arm, whose heroic achievements on many a battle field, particularly in the Great War, have gained him a crown of laurels which is not likely to fade for many a day to come. Further in the "Middle Mountains" we meet the semi-pastoral Gujar, living chiefly on maize and milk and possessing a remarkably Jewish cast of features. The Happy Valley is inhabited by Muhammadans and Brahmans—the former a race of wonderfully deft-fingered craftsmen, and the latter, intellectual heirs to a splendid culture which they have maintained at a high level. The province of Ladakh in the east is exclusively peopled by pure Tibetans, and Gilgit, Hunza, Nagar and other tracts on the north and north-west contain tall, fair, Kanjutis and Darads. These are the principal types, but there are many more which are too numerous to mention here. Indeed, from the cultured, philosophical Brahman to the nomad Bakarwal (shepherd) living, year in and year out, under the shade of a tree with his flocks and watch dogs as his sole companions, who knows no law except that of necessity, there is hardly any stage of civilisation which is not represented by some section of His Highness's subjects.

History.

Kashmir has the happy distinction of being the only province in the whole continent of India which possesses a series of continuous indigenous histories from the pre-Muhammadan times down to the present century. The author of the first and most important was Kalhana, a Kashmiri Brahman, who flourished in the first part of the 12th century A.D. and wrote his Rajatarangini, "the Chronicle of Kings," in 1148-49 A.D. Before, however, we proceed to summarise the information that Kalhana and his Hindu and Muhammadan successors supply, it will be of interest to note that Kashmir was known to the Greek geographer, Ptolemy, under the name Kaspeiria and the Kashmiris, the Kaspeiroi of Dionysios of Samos, were renowned in the ancient world for their fleetness of foot. The Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsiang, who visited the country in 629 A.D. and Oukong (759 A.D.) have left us graphic descriptions of the condition of Kashmir in their days. The country was prosperous; learning was respected and education, general. Buddhism was still flourishing but Brahmanism was gaining ground. The annals of the T'ang dynasty of China make mention of the arrival of an embassy from King Chandrāpīḍa of Kashmir in or shortly after 713 A.D. and that of another from his successor Lalitāditya-Muktāpīḍa. This shows that Kashmir in the more prosperous periods of her history maintained political relations with distant powers. The rise of the great Muhammadan kingdom beyond the north-western border of India, the fall of the buffer Hindu principalities of western Punjab, and finally the repeated invasions of India by Mahmud of Ghazni (A.D. 996-1030) forced Kashmir to retire into her own shell and seek protection behind her mountain barriers. All the passes were closed and entry into the valley was rigidly checked. Alberūni, the great Muhammadan scholar, who lived at the court of Mahmud states that though formerly one or two persons, especially Jews, were admitted, in his time no one, not even a Hindu unless he was personally known, was afforded entrance. He further states that Hindu learning and sciences had in his day sought refuge in regions where Muslim arms could not reach them, *e. g.*, Kashmir, Benares, etc.

In the earlier part of Kalhana's chronicle we meet with the great historic names of Aśoka, Kanishka, Huvishka, Tōramāna and Mihirakula. All of them were great rulers possessing extensive territories of which Kashmir formed only a part; but the Rajatarangini represents them as mere local Rajas who had in certain cases extended their conquests abroad. With the accession to the throne of the plebeian Kārkōta dynasty about the beginning of the middle of the seventh century A.D. Kalhana's narrative assumes a more definite and detailed form. Among the kings who immediately preceded this dynasty Pravarasena II is easily the most prominent. He seems to have spent the earlier portion of his life in exile, while the kingdom of his fathers was being ruled by Mātrigupta, a foreigner, and a nominee of Vikramāditya of Ujjain. Legend credits him with extensive conquests in Northern India and the replacement of Silāditya-Pratāpaśila of Mālwa on the throne. But the chief historical interest of his reign is centred in the foundation of the city of Srinagar which he called Pravarapura, a name which is still common among the learned.

More than a century after Pravarasēna II's rule Lalitāditya-Muktāpīḍa ascended the throne of Kashmir. As stated above, the second embassy mentioned by the T'ang annals was sent by this king to the Emperor of China. He was by far the most heroic ruler that Kashmir has ever produced. Popular tradition credits him with immense conquests, stretching in India from shore to shore and extending beyond the snowy mountains to the parched "Ocean of Sand" in Central Asia. His march in Hindustan appears to have been more of the nature of a military raid than a permanent occupation of the country. Thus, he swooped with his army upon Kanyakubja, the modern Kanauj, and before the king, Yaśōverman, had probably time to recover from his surprise, he found his army annihilated and himself reduced to the necessity of suing for an ignominious peace.

Lalitāditya was not only a great warrior but also a great builder. Among the towns that he founded the chief are Parnōtsa (prūnts), the capital of the modern territory of Punch and still a flourishing town and Lalitapura and Parihāsapura which have now dwindled into petty hamlets. The last-named he chose as his capital in preference to the larger and the more conveniently situated Srinagar, and embellished it with a group of religious edifices, vestiges of which still remain to testify to the magnificence of their founder. But his greatest memorial is the superb temple of Mārtānḍa, the most striking example of Kashmir architecture that now survives.

Avantivarman (A.D. 855-883) is one of the most lovable figures that we come across in the rather lengthy narrative of the historian. He was a rare combination of strength and gentleness. When he ascended the throne the country had long been distracted by the internecine feuds of the powerful nobles and the rapacious administration of the Kāyasthas (clerks). His first and greatest care throughout his whole reign was to give peace and rest to his suffering people. His triumphs, therefore, were essentially those of peace, as the triumphs of his great predecessor Lalitāditya were those of war. His pacification of the country though not described in as great detail as the other episodes of his life, seems to have been no easy task. In his time we first meet a member of that turbulent class of Ḍāmaras, the feudal barons of Kashmir, who during the feeble rule of his successors inflicted untold misery upon the country by their constant and bloody warfare against each other and against the crown.

Probably the most beneficent achievements of his reign were the dredging operations carried out by his engineer Suyya near Sōpōr, which resulted in lowering the bed of the river and thus relieving the greater part of the valley from the danger of floods. This brought about an immediate and permanent fall of nearly 600 per cent. in the price of grain.

Among his religious foundations is that gem of architecture, the Avantiswāmi temple at Avantipur. He was a great patron of learning, and not only conferred on the poets, philosophers, and literati of his day lands and fortunes, but also went to the length of giving them seats in his council.

A period of disorder followed his death. The political power was entirely in the hands, first of the Tāntrins who in their close military organisation resembled the Praetorian guards of Rome and who as might be expected, abused their strength in the same shameless manner ; and afterwards, in those of the Ḍāmaras or feudal barons. These latter were a set of hereditary freelances whose possessions enabled them to lie secure in their own demesnes, wherefrom they scoured the surrounding country for plunder and took away whatever they could lay their hands on.

The country was restored to some semblance of order by Uchchala (A.D. 1101-1111) and his immediate successors, but the forces which contributed towards its disintegration were never completely eradicted. The power of the kingdom gradually went on decreasing until Shāh Mīr, an obscure Muhammadan adventurer from Swāt, who had found a refuge and employment here, repaid the kindness of his master by wresting the sceptre from the feeble hands of his widowed queen. This was in 1337 A. D. From that date to 1819 when Ranjit Singh conquered it, Kashmir was ruled by Muslims. Among the indigenous Muslim rulers of Kashmir (A. D. 1337 to 1587) the most notable are Sikandar (1390-1414) and his son Zainu-l-'ābidīn (1421-1472). History has seldom shown a father and a son who are so fundamentally unlike each other in the aims and conduct of life as were these two. Both were men of strong character but their strength was directed to widely divergent ends. The father, surnamed Butshikan, "iconoclast," was a gloomy enthusiast whose one mission in life was to hunt down the infidel and to widen the fold of Islam. He entrusted the prosecution of this religious campaign to his minister Sūhabhaṭṭa, a converted Hindu, who hated his former co-religionists with the intense hatred of a thoroughgoing renegade. Temples were destroyed, cremation of the dead was interdicted, the wearing of caste marks was prohibited, and orders were issued proscribing the residence of any but the Muhammadans in the country. "There was no city or town, no village or forest where an abode of the gods escaped destruction by Sūhabhaṭṭa; all the images of the gods were broken with no more consideration than if they had been mere stones."

From this fearful witches' dance it is pleasant to turn to the reign of his son Zainu-l-'ābidīn. His long rule of half a century and more was one continuous endeavour to redress the wrongs and heal the wounds which his father and elder brother had inflicted. His proclamation of "peace and good will to all mankind" had an immediate response in the return of the Hindu exiles. He not only encouraged the study of Sanskrit, but was himself an ardent student of its philosophy. He anticipated the prison reforms of the nineteenth century by instituting a system of prison industries. Thieves and other criminals who formerly would have suffered instant execution were now made to work as labourers on public works; this being the chief reason why his reign was prolific of works of public utility which lasted down to recent times. The assessment of land was fixed at a reasonable rate. The prices of commodities were regulated by monthly notifications. It was from this time that the Kashmiri-Persian Literature, which only a quarter of a century ago occupied an almost exclusive place in the education and culture of the official or *Kārkun* class of Kashmiri Pandits, began to grow.

Many of the dry Karēwas or plateaus which form such a prominent feature of the Kashmir landscape were brought under cultivation by the construction of a series of canals some of which exist to this day.

He was an enlightened promoter of the architecture and the arts of the country. His name still survives in Zaina-kadal, the most important commercial mart of Kashmir, the town of Zainagir, and the Island of Zaina-lank in the Wolur lake. He gave a strong impetus to the manufacture of shawls and embroidered tapestry for which Kashmir has always been famous. He promoted the silk industry by inviting weavers from Khurāsān and settling them here.

In 1587 Akbar conquered Kashmir and annexed it to his dominions. Thenceforward up to 1846 it remained a dependency, first of the Mughal Empire and later, of the Afghan kingdom of Kabul and the Sikh kingdom of Lahore.

The Mughals embellished the valley with great palaces and gardens, the latter specially being the finest of their type in India. Akbar was enamoured of his new acquisition. Abul Fazl, his guide, philosopher, friend, and chronicler, says that "the country is enchanting and might befittingly be called a garden of perpetual spring surrounding a citadel terraced to the skies: its streams are sweet to the taste, its waterfalls music to the ear and its climate is invigorating. On account of the abundance of wood and constant earthquakes houses of stone and brick are not built, but the ancient temples inspire astonishment. Thieving and begging are rare. Apparel is generally of wool. The most respectable class in this country is that of Brahmans. They do not loosen the tongue of calumny against those not of their faith, nor beg nor importune. They employ themselves in planting fruit trees, and are generally a source of benefit to the people."

Probably the best description of Mughal Kashmir is from the pen of the French physician François Bernier, who came to Kashmir in the suite of Emperor Aurangzeb in 1664 A. D.

The decline in the prosperity of Kashmir followed in the wake of the decadence of the Mughal Empire. The *rois faineants* who succeeded Aurangzeb lost all hold on their distant possessions. In 1739 Kashmir was annexed to the kingdom of Kabul by the terrible Nādir Shāh, and it remained subject to the dominion of the Afghans until Ranjit Singh wrested it from the hands of Amīr Dōst Muhammad in 1819.

In 1846, after the Sikh war, the East India Company handed over the valley of Kashmir to Maharaja Gulāb Singh of Jammu who had already made himself master of Kashtwār, Bhadrawāh and Ladākh. The sternness with which he put down all lawlessness, his rough and ready method of dispensing justice, resulted in the thorough consolidation of the whole dominion.

His son Maharaja Ranbir Singh was an enlightened prince of the best type. His liberal patronage of learning, his advancement of merit, irrespective of caste or creed and his easy accessibility to all who sought to approach him endeared him greatly to his people. The régime of the present Maharaja, His Highness Lieutenant-General Sir Pratāp Singh, Indar Mahendar, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.B.E., is characterised by the immense strides which the country has made in its march of progress in all directions.

Administration.

In a speech which he delivered in full Durbar at Srinagar on the 22nd of October, 1921, His Highness the Maharaja after making a brief survey of the various reforms introduced by him said:

> "We cannot, however, having regard to the march of civilisation, afford to stand still. The rapid progress which characterises the administration of the different provinces of British India makes it obligatory upon

us to look far ahead and take steps which may be calculated to improve the constitutional character of the administration to an extent which may be fraught with great potentialities of good government and to strengthen the patriotic ties which have hitherto bound my subjects to my house in the discharge of their loyal duties of citizenship. Accordingly, actuated by vigilant care to promote their contentment and happiness and inspired by their loving devotion towards myself, I have decided consistently with local conditions and the essential characteristics of the sovereignty of the State, to sanction the introduction of a Regulation for the establishment of an Executive Council to help me in the discharge of my onerous responsibilities. This will be measured by the work it does during the course of one year. The creation of this body will immediately be followed by its necessary complement of a representative assembly."

His Highness's decision has since been formulated in the Sri Pratap Reforms Regulation which has partially been given effect to.

In place of the system, hitherto in vogue, of a number of Ministers administering the various Departments of which they held charge, under the general supervision of a Chief Minister, who was the sole channel of communication between them and His Highness the Maharaja, the Reforms Regulation mentioned above has substituted a State Council consisting of His Highness the Maharaja as President, General Raja Sir Harisingh as Senior and Foreign Member, and the Members for (1) Home and Legislative Departments, (2) Revenue, and (3) Commerce and Industry as Ordinary Members. The Member for Commerce and Industry is in charge of almost all the Scientific and Technical Departments; the Home and Law Member controls, among other things, the Departments of Education, Public Works, Legislation and Municipalities; while the Revenue Member controls the Departments of Land Revenue, Finance, Settlement, etc.

"All matters which under the existing constitution, require the orders of His Highness the Maharaja and cannot otherwise be dealt with by any other Member or any other authority under powers delegated to him by virtue of any law, rule, regulation or practice sanctioned by His Highness, shall in future be submitted to His Highness in the Jammu and

Kashmir State Council, with the exception of the subjects reserved specially for final disposal by His Highness."

Revenue.

The revenue of the State is over two crores of rupees and is mainly derived from Forests, Land, Sericulture, Customs and Excise, Pasture lands, Sale of Stamps, and Fruit gardens.

Forests.—The total area of the forests is close on 10,000 square miles. Besides supplying the whole of the State with firewood and timber for building purposes, the Forest Department exports an enormous quantity of timber to the Punjab. A very considerable length of the North Western Railway is paved with Kashmir sleepers. The chief varieties of timber trees are deodar, Himalayan blue pine, spruce, silver fir, alder, yew, elm, ash, hazel, walnut, Indian chestnut, willow, hawthorne and birch.

Among the minor forest products the most valuable is the strongly scented *Kuth* root (*Costus speciosus*), which is used as medicine, insect-destroyer and as an incense. A large variety of drugs is also exported every year.

Land.—The staple food in the valley is rice which is grown there almost everywhere. Rice land seldom yields more than one crop in the year. Wheat, maize, and barley are also grown in considerable quantities in the uplands and plateaus. Oil is extracted from rape, linseed and walnuts. Cotton is also grown in small quantities. In the province of Jammu wheat, maize, and barley are grown as also small quantities of rice.

Fruits.—Kashmir is particularly rich in fruits. Not only are they enough for local consumption but every autumn they flood the markets of almost the whole of Northern India. The principal fruits are apples, pears, cherries, plums, walnuts, almonds, apricots and mulberry.

Sericulture.—The immense number of mulberry trees in

Kashmir offers peculiar facilities for the rearing of cocoons. The seed used at present is both foreign and local, but of late years the tendency has been gradually to decrease the quantity of imported seed, as the local seed has been found to give better results. The Srinagar factory has five filatures. The quantity of silk sold during the last year in India and elsewhere was 396,804 pounds. The filatures are worked by electricity, only the heating of the cooking basins being done by steam. The chief markets for Kashmir silk are England and France.

It will be of interest to note that the manufacture of silk is a very ancient industry in Kashmir. Zainu-l-' ābidīn who ruled from 1421 to 1472 is said to have imported silk weavers from Khurasan and settled them here.

Customs and Exrcise Department.—The revenue which this Department contributes to the State is derived from the duties levied upon the exports and imports of the State. These vary in quantity and nature in different provinces according to the geographical conditions and the needs of the people living in them. The chief imports of Kashmir are piecegoods, sugar, salt, metals, seeds, tea, tobacco, snuff and fruits, and the chief exports timber, silk, ghee, fruits, wool and woollens, grains, drugs, and livestock. By far the greatest amount of the trade to and from the valley follows the routes of Rawalpindi-Murree and Havelian-Abbottabad. Of these two the former is the most frequented, the latter, though shorter and easier, being often shunned on account of its being rather unsafe.

Pastures.—On the high roads of Srinagar in spring and autumn, one occasionally witnesses a striking spectacle: he sees passing before him herd after herd of long-haired goats, guarded on all sides by formidable sheep dogs, before whose stern carriage and watchful eye the street mongrels slink away hastily, and followed at short intervals by tall, robust, sombre-looking, shepherds whose little children and few pots and pans are borne on the backs of a couple of hardy, sleek mountain ponies. If one is in a hurry he had better turn back and go another way, for neither the bell of a bicycle nor the braying horn of a motor car seems to have the least effect upon these placid, slow-moving, bleating thousands. These are the *bakarwāls* moving up in spring from Rajauri, Reasi, Mirpur and Hazara, in other words, from the region of the Outer Hills to the high Alpine pasture lands of Kashmir, and in winter making their exodus back to a warmer clime. To the student of ancient history the spectacle is forcibly reminiscent of those days, thousands of years ago, when the great pastoral nations moved slowly from pasture to pasture and oasis to oasis before finding the home which their descendants now occupy.

But unfortunately these herds inflict incalculable damage on the State forests by the destruction of young plants. With a view to lessen their numbers as far as possible and eventually to put a complete stop upon their entry into the State territories, the Durbar has decided to levy an annually increasing toll, per head, upon all goats owned by migratory *bakarwāls* who seek for entrance into the Kashmir pastures.

Sale of Stamps.—The Durbar issues its own Judicial revenue and Telegraphic stamps.

Arts and Crafts.

Shawls.—In the minds of most people who have not seen the country with their own eyes the name Kashmir almost invariably conjures up images of beautiful variegated shawls, and well it may, for the Kashmir shawl has for centuries been almost as ubiquitous as Lipton's tea has become now-a-days. In the Mughal times the industry was very flourishing. Bernier who visited Kashmir in 1664 was much struck by the great production and universal use of shawls and the occupation it gave "even to the little children." Trade with Europe was carried on either through the Red Sea, or overland through Persia to Constantinople and Alexandria, or through Chinese Turkistan to Russia. The Pathan oppressions (A.D. 1739-1819) gave a severe blow to the industry, but during the present régime it has shown signs of rapid recovery.

Shawl wool is the fleece of a species of wild goat living in the uplands of Tibet and is imported into Kashmir either direct from the western provinces of Tibet or from Ladakh. Before being spun into thread it is bleached in wet rice flour but is never cleaned with soap as that is said tc toughen the fibres.

Embroidery.—The use of embroidery is universal. Bed-covers, cushions, curtains, scarves, tablecloths, purses, felt rugs, cotton cloth, silk, shawls, leather, in fact everything that can lend itself to the operation of thread and needle is embroidered. Much of the work is extremely pleasing and finds a ready market in Kashmir and abroad.

Carpets, similar to those made in Persia, are manufactured in Srinagar.

Pattu, a kind of homespun of various degrees of fineness, manufactured from the wool of local sheep is a cheap and favourite article of winter apparel.

Gabba is peculiar to Kashmir. Half-worn blankets are dyed and embroidered. A border of small pieces dyed in different colours and arranged and stitched together in geometrical patterns is added and the whole becomes an admirable carpet. If used as an article of bedding it is usually quilted. Another variety of *gabba* is prepared by printing a number of patterns in colours upon a woollen blanket.

Brass, copper and silver ware, are mostly manufactured in Srinagar. The chief articles are jugs, wash-basins, samovars, flower vases, *hookas,* ash trays, etc. The carving is often very beautiful.

Wood Carving.—Except for architectural purposes when cedar and pine are also carved, carving is almost exclusively limited to walnut wood. Most articles of furniture are so ornamented. The chief motifs are floral designs (chinar leaf being the most favourite) and geometrical patterns usually of great beauty; and Chinese dragons with Chinese characters known as "Lhassa designs," probably because they penetrated into the valley through Tibet. The latter kind of work is in great demand with the English tourists but is artistically mediocre, owing probably to the Kashmiri craftsman's lack of appreciation of the spiritual significance which underlies the idea of the Chinese dragon.

Papier-maché, is in a flourishing condition but the quality of the work has unhappily deteriorated owing to the demand for cheaper goods. The old process of thoroughly wetting the paper, pounding it into one compact, homogeneous mass, forming it into different shapes, after which they were dried until they became hard as board, and finally painting it with designs of exquisite beauty, was a laborious task. What now passes for papier-maché, is usually an article of thin board covered over with lacquered decoration.

Leather Manufacture.—The importance of this industry is gradually increasing. Hill shoes and socks, boxes, saddlery, cushions, embroidered purses, *kiltas* (wicker-work barrels covered with leather and used for carriage of utensils, etc.) are the chief articles of manufacture. Owing to the defective knowledge of tanning, good shoes and boots are not often made.

Basket Work.—Like leather manufacture this industry is gaining in importance, especially since the introduction of English willows in Kashmir. The lead given by the Technical Institute in this matter is in valuable. Last year "in the examination of the City and Guilds of London in the first grade of Basket Making, one of the students of the Institute stood first in the whole United Kingdom, including the Colonies and Dependencies."

Paper-making and Manufacture of Arms.—These two industries for which Kashmir was once famous little more than half a century ago, are now practically extinct.

Serpentine stone ware.—Serpentine stone is the name of a bright green stone called in Kashmir "Zahar-mohra" and quarried in Baltistan. Cups, *chilams*, candlesticks, etc., are made of this stone.

Recent Improvements.

Fducation.—The state has two first grade Arts Colleges, one Technical Institute, nine High Schools and a large number of Secondary and Primary Schools. The Colleges and High Schools are affiliated to the Punjab University. The people especially in the valley of Kashmir have shown great aptitude for English education. Primary and Secondary education is practically free. In the case of College education comparatively small fees are charged. The Technical Institute has been established with the object of improving the arts and manufactures of the country along the approved scientific lines.

Circulating Libraries.—The Durbar maintains two circulating public libraries, one at Srinagar and the other at Jammu. The greater part of the books stocked is of general interest. Attached to the libraries are well-equipped Reading Rooms.

Oriental Publications.—A well-staffed Department under a qualified Superintendent is engaged in the collection, collation and publication of a series of ancient manuscripts of great literary interest. The majority of the books already published deal with the well-known though rather abstruse Sàiva philosophy of Kashmir. This undertaking has been widely appreciated.

Communications.—The means of communications between Kashmir and the external world as well as between the different provinces and towns of the State have been greatly improved during the last quarter of a century or so. The Jhelum Valley Cart Road together with the newly constructed Srinagar-Jammu Road which passes over the Banihal Pass is one of the longest, if not the very longest, mountain road in the world suitable for motor traffic. For the convenience of travellers furnished Rest-houses have been built at every stage of about 15 miles along the entire length (nearly 340 miles) of this road. The bridle paths over the Pīr Pantsāl, Zozila and Burzil leading to the Punjab, Ladakh and Gilgit respectively are well kept and the arrangements for the supplies and transport on them are very thorough. Owing to the extremely mountainous nature of the country and the peculiar geological characteristics of the ranges which encircle the valley, it has not hitherto been practicable to construct a railway to Srinagar. The Jammu-Suchetgarh Railway, a short continuation of the Wazirabad-Sialkot branch line, is the only railway in the State.

Irrigation.—The most important irrigation works executed during the rule of the present Maharaja are the construction of the Ranbīr Canal and the Pratāp Canal in Jammu, and the Mārtānda Canal and the Lāl Kul in Kashmir. Of these by far the largest is the first. It is about 20 miles in length and irrigates an area of over 55,000 acres.

Telegraphs.—The State has a telegraph line of its own, which connects Jammu with Srinagar and the latter with Leh in Ladakh. In 1919 the total length of the lines was 576 miles.

Electric Installation.—The towns of Srinagar, Bārāmūla, Sōpōr, Gulmarga and Jammu are now illuminated with electricity. The large plant which supplies the current to the first four has been installed at Mohora, a small hamlet situated on the Jhelum Valley Road, 53 miles below Srinagar. The Jammu Power House is a much less pretentious affair. In Srinagar, besides the State-owned Silk Factory there is a number of private rice-hullers and oil-presses which are electrically driven. Jammu has also followed this example on a smaller scale.

Sanitation.—Only the two capital towns of Srinagar and Jammu are provided with Municipal corporations. The chief function of these bodies is to improve the health and the sanitation of the city they represent. Jammu being a much smaller town and more fortunate in its natural position on the top of a hill, presents little difficulties in this regard; but the problem of sanitation in Srinagar, situated as it is in flat low-lying ground in the midst of swamps, is much more complex. Some time ago a sewage scheme was proposed but had to be abandoned owing to the immense expenditure involved. It is, therefore, a matter for congratulation that in spite of these obstacles, great improvement has already been effected.

Hospitals.—All the hospitals maintained by the State—and they are many—are charitable institutions inasmuch as they give free medicines and free rations to such patients as are not capable of paying for them. The good they do is incalculable. The Medical Department likewise maintains a Vaccination branch consisting of a number of itinerant vaccinators who travel through all parts of the State and operate, free of charges, upon all who present themselves to them. Of all the activities of the Department, probably the best appreciated is that of vaccination. It has immensely reduced infant mortality in the State.

Scientific Departments.

The Mineral and Archæological Surveys are the two most important Scientific Departments maintained by the State. The former has been lately reorganised by Mr. C. S. Middlemiss, formerly a distinguished officer of the Geological Survey of India. The activities of the Department are at present confined to making a minute and exact survey and reporting upon the quality, extent and practical utility of the mineral deposits in the various parts of the State. The progress made is already considerable. The acquamarine mines of Dasu in Baltistan were discovered in 1919. The discovery of the existence of rich deposits of iron, coal and bauxite in Rissi, of " domes " suitable for the accumulation of petroleum in Ramnagar and Kotli, and of graphite, gypsum and ochre at Braripura, Nur Khwah and Ratasar in Kashmir province, has further added to the potential wealth of the State.

The Department is arranging for the publication of illustrated reports which, it is expected, will be useful both to the scientist and to the business man.

Archæology : *General.*—The Durbar takes a keen interest in the exploration and preservation of its ancient monuments, and rightly so, for unquestionably the best way of understanding the characteristics of a people is by a thorough appreciation of its past, which can most easily be understood by the study of such contemporary records as old buildings, epigraphs, coins, sculptures, etc. Of these ancient records, especially the first, Kashmir fortunately possesses a rich and most interesting variety. The pre-historic man is represented by a group of megaliths at Burzahom near Harvan. The ascendency of Buddhism in the early centuries of the Christian era, when Kashmir formed a part of the kingdom of Gandhāra, is illustrated by the historic sites of Ushkur (*recte* Huvishkapura, the town of Huvishka) near Baramula, where a number of beautiful terracottas have been excavated, and those of Harvan (*recte* Shaḍarhadvana, " the grove of six saints "). The latter is specially interesting as the sculptured bricks exhumed there reveal unmistakable traces of Sassanian and Central Asian influence, pointing to the existence of commercial, if not political, relations between the valley and those distant countries in about 400-500 A.D. For the following century we have the coins of the White Hun ruler Tōramāna, the terrible father of the still more terrible Mihirakula, who after having devastated nearly the whole of Northern India, was on the death of his father forced to retire to the distant Himalayan kingdom.

The memory of Lalitāditya, the great conqueror, who ruled Kashmir in the first half of the 8th century A. D., still survives in the magnificent temples of Mārtānda and Wāngath and the monasteries and *chaityas* of Parihāsapura. His bold and generous character could hardly find a more suitable memorial than the ruined buildings. For, neither the rigours of a thousand winters which have since passed over them, nor the more merciless hand of the destroyer, has been able completely to efface the original grandeur of their conception and the broadness of their outline. Avantivarman (A. D. 855-882) the apostle of peace, and still remembered as the ideally just king, has to his credit that exquisite gem of architecture, the Avantiswāmi temple at Avantipur.

The decay of the art of Kashmir marks time with the decay in its prosperity. The dimensions of buildings and their artistic value gradually go on dwindling until they finally disappear with the destruction of the Hindu power and the ascendency of Islām.

The history of the Muhammadan supremacy, as it can be traced in the contemporary records, is equally interesting.

The peculiar shape of the wooden mosques of Kashmir, which is so distinctly reminiscent of the Buddhist *chortens* of Tibet, probably owes its origin to the ingenuity of Rinchana (A. D. 1319-1322), the first Muhammadan ruler of Kashmir, who was himself a Tibetan. Later, when Sikandar instituted a campaign of relentless and wholesale destruction of Hindu temples, we encounter another style of architecture. The site of the desecrated temple was occupied by the new mosque, which was a small square structure built of the materials of the edifice it had supplanted. The best examples of this style are the mosque of Madīn Sahib at Srinagar and the ruins of the mosque at Vitsārnāg.

Later in the field came the Mughals. When Akbar, the first and greatest of them all, annexed the country, it was famine-stricken and torn by civil feuds. The construction of the Hariparbat fort was intended to act as a salve for both sores, for it not only overawed the turbulent city but also provided employment for its famished multitudes. A splendid tribute to his equity and fatherly care of his people is furnished by the following verse—it also throws an interesting sidelight on the conditions generally prevailing in those days in the inscription on the Kāṭni Darwāza of the fort: *Na kardah hēchkas bēgār ānjā, Tamāmī yāftand az makhzanash zar*: "no one was forced to work there without wages, all received their dues from his treasury." The more sumptuous taste and the ease-loving disposition of his successors is exemplified by the beautiful gardens of Shālamār Nishāt, Achhabal and Vērnāg.

Hardly any monument, worthy the name, of the Pathans exists in Kashmir. Even the painful memory of their misrule is fast fading in the long peace and security of life and property which the country has been enjoying under the present dynasty.

Early Architecture.—In the first five or six centuries of the Christian era, the architects of Kashmir seem to have closely copied the well-known architectural style of the Buddhist kingdom of Gandhāra. Many *stūpas* and monasteries must have been built, though only a few have survived. The materials used were rubble stones, river pebbles and chips from stone quarries. The last two were used either exclusively or mixed with large stones to form a diaper pattern.

Mediæval Architecture.—But as time went on, Kashmir evolved a more elaborate and ornamental architectural style which, although it undoubtedly derived its original inspiration from Gandhāra, did, nevertheless, possess important distinguishing characteristics of its own. The best known examples are the Mārtānda temple and the Avantiswami temple.

This style of architecture was columnar and trabeated. It depended for its effect upon (1) the simplicity and unity of its design, (2) the extraordinary massiveness of the blocks of the limestone and granite employed, (3) the finish of dressing and carving and (4) the natural beauty of the site chosen for the erection of the edifice. The temple usually comprises a rectangular peristyle pierced with cells, facing the courtyard, and a shrine consisting, commonly, of a single chamber with a portico situated in the centre. The entrance which is almost equal in dimensions to the main shrine is a double-chambered structure and is built in the middle of one of the shorter sides of the peristyle.

Perhaps the most striking feature of this style is the majestic colonnade which faces the courtyard on all sides. The columns are either round or fluted, but at the angles of the peristyle they are kept square. The ornament on the walls and friezes consists of sculptural reliefs intermingled with geometrical patterns.

The roofs are pyramids of two or three stories. The lower stories are truncated and marked off from each other by ornamental string-courses. The topmost pyramid is surmounted by a melon-like ornament.

Muhammadan Architecture.—The transfer of sovereignty from the hands of the Hindus to those of the Muhammadans was, in Kashmir, a purely internal affair and had nothing to do with the Pan-Islamic conquests of the 12th and 13th centuries. The absence of Muhammadan buildings of the Saracenic style in the early centuries of Islamic rule in Kashmir is not, therefore, surprising. Of the two styles of indigenous Muhammadan architecture, the best known and the most interesting is the Wooden Style. In the mosques and tombs of this style the walls and piers are usually constructed of pieces of timber laid across each other, the space between them being closed with brick-work. "In large chambers where the roof or ceiling require intermediate support, wooden columns are used with very good effect. Timber trusses do not seem to have been understood by ancient builders, but they are now employed in restoration. The old method of supporting the rafters was by building up piers formed of logs laid horizontally. The typical roof covering consists of turf laid in birch bark which retains waterproof properties for a great number of years." The roof is pyramidal and is surmounted by a high steeple at the apex.

In plan the mosques are either square blocks like the tombs or consist of a group of square planned buildings connected together by a colonnade.

R. C. KĀK

THE KAUTILIYA ARTHASASTRA

(A Reply)

II

What the use of the words 'iti Kauṭiliyaḥ' signifies.

The use of the words '*iti Kauṭiliyaḥ*' at the end of the sentences embodying the opinion of the author of the *Arthaśāstra* shows, according to Prof. Winternitz, that the treatise was not the composition of Kauṭilya, and that the words were put in by a later writer to pass it off as the outcome of the pen of the great minister. Prof. Winternitz, however, admits that the words in the third person can signify the author if he belongs to a school of writers on the subject; and for this reason, he states that Patañjali never records his opinion in the *Mahābhāṣya* by saying 'iti Patañjaliḥ,' while it is the practice of the Acāryas (schools) to state their own opinion as if it is another's. The nice distinction, that has been drawn by Prof. Winternitz between the authors belonging to schools and those not belonging to them, has no authority in its support. If the practice be true in the case of the former, there is no ground why it should be denied in respect of the latter. Prof. Winternitz gives us to understand that a statement in the *Mahābhāṣya* in the third person by Patañjali referring to his own opinion would have satisfied him, but it should be noted that Patañjali himself belongs to the Pāṇini *school of grammarians* just as Baudhāyana and others belonged to their respective schools on the particular subjects. I may point out in this connexion that the practice of referring to the author himself by the use of his own name is very widespread in India and is found to have been continued even in the mediæval period by writers of both Bengali and Hindi works, *e.g.*, Chaṇḍīdāsa, Vidyāpati, Tulasīdāsa, Kāśīrāma, etc.

Prof. Winternitz points out as significant the silence of several treatises about Kauṭilya. The Purāṇas do not mention Kauṭilya as an author, the *Mahābhāṣya* and the *Mahābhārata* are silent about him and neither Megasthenes nor any other Greek or Roman author knows anything about him. There may be many causes for their silence, and I do not think it safe from the standpoint of evidence-sifting to put upon it any interpretation of our own. The silence of the Greek Ambassador about Kauṭilya need not be a matter for surprise so long as we have to remain satisfied with only fragments of the *Indika.*

Prof. Winternitz remarks that the agreements between Megasthenes' account of India, and the description of same as found in the Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra, are of such a nature that they hold good in regard to the condition of India at all times. On the other hand, their differences according to him relate to the most essential details. Before I examine the instances that have been cited by Prof. Winternitz on the strength of Otto Stein's work entitled "*Megasthenes and Kauṭilya*" to prove his proposition, I should like to mention that in dealing with this subject, we should bear in mind the following points:—

1. As Megasthenes' *Indika* has come to our hand in only a number of fragments, we would be mistaken in drawing such inferences as could only have been drawn if the whole work had been before us. Prof. Winternitz is for this reason in error when he thinks it a matter for surprise (p. 19) that Megasthenes does not mention Kauṭilya.

2. As admitted by Prof. Winternitz himself (p. 22), "the descriptions of Megasthenes may in some cases be inaccurate or coloured for tendencious purposes." Profs. Macdonell and Keith, treating of the king's position in regard to land in ancient India, speak of the Greek notices on the subjects as those "in which unhappily it would be dangerous to put much trust, since they were collected by observers who were probably little used to accurate investigations (of such matters), and whose statements were based on inadequate information" (*Vedic Index*, Vol. II, p. 214).

3. It is well-known that the authors, through whose quotations from the *Indika*, the fragments of same have been compiled, did not at times hesitate to alter the quoted passages to suit their liking.

4. Schwanbeck writes that though Megasthenes wrote portions of his account from personal observations, he had to depend in the rest upon hearsay and report.

In giving instances of differences between Megasthenes and Kauṭilya on the most essential details, he has included the silence of Kauṭilya about milestones on the roads as one such instance; but properly speaking, this is no difference at all, because when a passage in the Kauṭiliya is in conflict with one in Megasthenes regarding a most essential detail, it is then only that we are justified in saying that such a difference has taken place. In a case like the present, Megasthenes should be taken to supplement the account in the *Arthaśāstra*.

I shall now deal with the other instances seriatim:—

1. According to Prof. Winternitz, Megasthenes mentions that water for irrigation was carefully distributed to private people, while Kauṭilya knows nothing of such a distribution of water, but mentions private water-works. But Kauṭilya expressly refers to the presence of

Re Irrigation.

canals which make the regions where they exist independent of the rain-fall in regard to the yield of crops (*Arthaśāstra*, II, 24 *Kulyāvāpānām ca Kālataḥ*). The agriculturists had certainly to make their own arrangements for the raising of water from the canals. The *udakabhāga* (water-rate) varied according to the ways in which the water was raised.

Re Wooden structures.

2. What Megasthenes states in Fragment XXVI is that "such cities as are situated on the banks of rivers or on the sea-coast are built of wood instead of brick, being meant to last only for a time, so destructive are the heavy rains which pour down, and the rivers also when they overflow their banks and inundate the plains,—while those cities which stand on commanding situations and lofty eminences are built of brick and mud." The reason assigned by Megasthenes for having the city built of wood is the destructive fury of the inundation of the river or of the rainfall. The chance of a wooden city catching fire was as great then as it was at any other time. The only means of avoiding fire was by using brick or stone or some other material not inflammable. That such materials were used within the city for the purposes of construction is amply proved by the excavations at Pataliputra. If the use of wood for the construction of the city be taken as an evidence of belonging to the 4th cent. B.C., the use of stone has the same claim to becoming a similar criterion; hence to distinguish that Megasthenes speaks of the use of wood and Kauṭilya of stone, and thereby Megasthenes is older than Kauṭilya is evidently wide of the mark. Moreover, the passage upon which Prof. Winternitz has based his argument is obscure (*Arthaśāstra*, p. 52). According to Dr. R. Shama Sastry's translation, the passage speaks of roads of chariots and not at all of ramparts. If this translation be correct, then Kauṭilya's reasons for suggesting stone instead of wood in the construction of roads for chariots was to avoid fire caused by friction. That Kauṭilya is not a strict opponent of the use of wood will be apparent from his suggestion of the use of timber in the construction of *bhīmigṛha* (*Arthaśāstra*, p. 58) and other structures. Further, even if we suppose that the passage in the *Arthaśāstra* speaks of ramparts, and Kauṭilya recommends the use of stone in the construction of ramparts, this recommendation by itself cannot make him later than Megasthenes, because the use of stone ramparts for cities dates as far back as the 6th century B.C., if not earlier. Says Prof. Rhys Davids, "we have an extant example of stone walls surrounding a hill fortress before the 6th century B.C., at Giribbaja" (the capital of Magadha before Pāṭaliputra).

Re Prohibition as to possession of horses, etc., by private individuals.

3. Prof. Winternitz points out that Megasthenes states that a private person was not allowed to keep either a horse or an elephant, as these animals were the special property of the king, and that Kauṭilya is silent about it ; and because in the later work *Mṛccha-kaṭika*, Vasantasenā owns elephants, Kauṭilya's silence has been taken by Prof. Winternitz as indicative of the later age of the composition of the *Arthaśāstra*. But it should be remembered that even in the Vedic period, private individuals were allowed to possess horses; for otherwise, the *Ṛg Veda* (X, 62,8) would not have contained a *dānastuti* in which Manu is praised for making a gift of one hundrd horses, and the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (V. 5,4,35) would not have laid down that a draught-mare may be the sacrificial fee. Apart from these pieces of Vedic evidence, Megasthenes himself records the case of an owner of a white elephant, from whom the king of the Indians tried to wrest it but failed until the owner was killed. (Frag. LIII.) Again, in Frag. LVI, he refers to a half-wild Indian community 'employing these animals in ploughing and for riding on, and regarding them as forming the main part of their stock in cattle.' Arrian states that 'the animals used by the common sort (of Indians) for riding on are camels and horses and asses, while the wealthy used elephants' [Arrian's *Indika* (McCrindle's translation) ch. XVII]. The Arthaśāstra also has a passage speaking of mares belonging to the citizens and the country people (II,30 'paurajānapadānāmarthena vṛṣā baḍabāsvāyojyāḥ).

Re Female guards.

4. Prof. Winternitz points out that according to Megasthenes, women follow the king when he is going out to hunt, that armed women accompany him on war-chariots or horses or elephants, both in his hunting expeditions and into battle, and he adds that anybody approaching the women is killed ; but Kauṭilya knows only of men who accompany the king when going out hunting. That there were armed women to guard the king's person is evident from the *Arthaśāstra* I, ch. 21 *strīgaṇair dhvanvibhiḥ parigṛhyeta* ; it is also found that women accompanied the king on chariots and other conveyances with umbrella, pitcher, and fan in hand (*Ib*., ch. 27) and his route at the time of hunting expeditioir, etc., or march to battle was guarded on both sides by armed men and persons belonging to '*daśavarga*.' The expression used by the author is '*daśavargikādhiṣṭhitāni*,' which may refer as well to women-guards belonging to daśavarga (*dasavargikāḥ*). In these circumstances, I do not think there is such a difference between

Megasthenes and the author of the *Arthaśāstra* as to warrant the inference that one is chronologically posterior to the other.

Re Slavery in India.

5. I do not understand why Prof. Winternitz has attached so much importance to Megasthenes' remark that there was no slavery in India. Smith points out in his *Early India* (p. 100) that "in reality mild praedial and domestic slavery seems to have been an institution in most parts of India from very remote times," and that Strabo on the authority of Onesikritos shows that "other authors do not seem to be justified in ascertaining that slavery was unknown everywhere in India." Fick, on the authority of the *Vinayapiṭaka* and the *Jātakas*, shows that slavery was not unknown in India. Megasthenes substantially agrees with Kauṭilya because the latter says that no Aryan could be slave (*na tvaivāryasya dāsabhāvaḥ—Arthaśāstra,* III, 13) except in times of extreme difficulty, while the Mlecchas could be slaves.

Re Indian agriculturists' part in war and harm, if any, done to their lands in war.

6. The duties of the four castes according to Kauṭilya are found at pp. 7, 8 of the *Arthaśāstra.* There the duties of the Vaiśyas are enumerated as study, performance of sacrifices, charities, agriculture, cattle-rearing, and trade. If the duties peculiar to a caste are not performed by the people belonging to it, then according to Kauṭilya, the society is ruined by confusion of castes (lokassaṅkarāducchidyeta). And hence the king is advised to keep each caste attached to its own duties. It was, therefore, normal for the Ksattriyas to take to the military profession, and abnormal for the people of the other castes to adopt it. It was only by way of exception that they could take it up. This hardening of caste duties had already come into being in the Vedic period. In Vedic literature, 'the Brāhmaṇas and Ksatriyas appear as practically confined to their own professions of sacrifice, and military or administrative functions' (*Vedic Index,* II, 260). The Vaiśya was really an agriculturist. Pastoral pursuits and agriculture must have been their normal occupations (*Ib.*, II, 333, 334).

Kauṭilya does not speak well of Brāhmaṇa soldiers, and approves Vaiśyas and Śūdras as composing an army provided they be very strong physically (*Arthaśāstra,* IX, 2). Hence, Megasthenes is in substantial agreement with Kauṭilya in his remark that the agriculturists never took part in war or in other public services. That their accounts do not tally in every detail is, in my opinion, due to inaccuracy in the description left by the Greek ambassador who in spite of his long stay could not realize fully the spirit and details of the beliefs and institutions of the Hindus.

That the land of the Indian agriculturists was never devastated in war is also an inaccuracy of the sort pointed out by Schwanbeck (McCrindle's Introduction, 1.27) such as Vipāsā pouring its waters into the Irāvatī, enumeration of the seven castes, mistaken account of the Indian gods, etc.; for it is impossible that a war should take place on a tract of land without any harm to the agriculturists of the locality, or that they would not suffer at all by the evils that come in its train.

Comparison: accounts of administration given by Megasthenes and Kauṭilya.

7. A comparison of the accounts of administration as given by Megasthenes and Kauṭilya shows that the question of their agreement or difference turns on the following points, *viz.* :—

I. Whether or not the substantive duties performed by the officers were identical or almost identical.

II. Whether or not the particular officers with their respective duties in the one account agree with the officers with their respective duties in the other account.

Comparison of substantive duties.

Re I. The duties mentioned by Megasthenes (Frag. XXXIV) are almost identical with those in the Kauṭilīya. If we put together the substantive duties one after another as given in Megasthenes without mention of the officers by whom they were performed, we get a sketch which might well be missed as one drawn from the Kauṭilīya. The parallel passages so far as they are available from the Arthaśāstra are noted within parantheses by the side of the passages taken from Megasthenes :—

(A) *Outside the city*—

Superintending the rivers (*cf. Artha.* II, 6—reference to nadīpāla for looking after the rivers; II, 28—reference to rules for fording and crossing rivers; reference also to rules enforced at port-towns (paṇya-pattana-cāritram);

Measurement of land (*cf. Artha.* II, 35—*re.* cadastral survey; my *Studies*, pp. 112, 113);

Inspection of the sluices of the main canals for passage of water into the branches (*cf. Studies*, pp. 11 ff.; also my remarks *supra*);

Control over huntsmen (*cf. Artha.* II, 34—control of vivītādhyakṣa over the lubdhakas with their hounds);

Collection of taxes (*cf. Artha.* II, 6 *re* collection of many kinds of taxes);

Superintendence of the wood-cutters, carpenters, black-smiths, and the miners (*cf. Artha.* II, 17 *re* wood-cutters; IV, 1 *re* artisans generally; II, 12 *re* miners and workers in metals; see also *Studies*, pp. 5-11).

(B) *Inside the city*[1]—

(1) Looking after the industrial arts;

(2) Supervision of manufactured articles and their sale by public notice keeping separate the old and the new articles. [*Re* (1) and (2): for the supervision, *cf. Artha.* II, 15; 17; 23; 24; 12. See IV, 2 for prevention of sale of inferior articles as superior with the mention of punishment for the offence. That the enhancement of price due to bidding was resorted to is found in the *Artha.* II, 6—krayasaṅgharṣe vṛddhirityāyaḥ).

(3) Supervision of trade and commerce, weights and measures, timely sale of products by public notice, and collection of double tax for dealing in more than one commodity. (*Cf.* Artha. II, 16 *re.* paṇyādhyakṣa; II, 19 *re* Pautavādhyakṣa; IV, 2 *re* regulation of prices; as there were separate impositions on different articles, more than one tax had to be paid for dealing in more than one article. There is no reason why double tax should exempt one who deals in, say 10 commodities, from paying tax on all the 10 articles. There is nothing in the Kauṭilīya to support this view, and I think Megasthenes' statement is inaccurate).

(4) Collection of the tenths of prices. (*Cf. Artha.* II, 22.)

(5) Taking care of foreigners. (*Cf. Artha.* II, 36—ref. to provision for giving lodgings to travellers. Megasthenes' statement that their modes of life were watched may well be inferred from the system of espionage described in the Arthaśāstra. Two other details about them added by Megasthenes, *viz.*, escorting them when leaving the country, and sending their property to their relatives in the event of their death are not found in Kauṭilya. But there are in the Kauṭilīya other details about the treatment of foreigners, regarding which Megasthenes is silent, *e.g.*, the foreigners could not ordinarily be sued, and foreign commerce was encouraged. This shows that they used to get good treatment.)

(6) Recording particulars about births and deaths. (*Cf. Artha.* II. 36.)

(C) *Charge of matters of general interest, e.g.*:—

(1) Repair of buildings. (*Cf. Artha.*, I, 4—the sovereign as the administrator of daṇḍanīti has to look to *yogakṣema* of material interests, including preservation of properties. Labdhaparirakṣaṇī included in daṇḍanīti also points to the preservation of properties. Repair of buildings

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[1] The order of the items has been changed a little for convenience.

for their preservation falls, therefore, within the limits of the duties of Government. There is a reference to repair of *durga* in Bk. II, 4 (p. 57).)

(2) Regulation of prices. (*Cf. Artha.* IV, 2.)

(3) Care of markets. (*Cf. Artha.* II, 16 ; II, 19 ; & IV, 2) ;

(4) Care of harbours (*Cf.* mention of Pattanādhyakṣa and Paṇyapattanacāritra in II, 28) ; and

(5) Care of Temples. (*Cf.* mention of Devatādhyakṣa in II, 6).

(D) *As regards the military department, the duties are enumerated as follows :—*

(1) Those of the Admiral of the Fleet (*Cf.* Artha. II, 28—Nāvadhyakṣa. Prof. Winternitz takes exception to the identification of the Nāvadhyakṣa with the Admiral of the Fleet of Megasthenes on the ground that Nāvadhyakṣa had to do entirely with fiscal and commercial matters and had no concern with the military. I should like to point out that just in the previous fragment (XXXIII), the Admiral of the Fleet is described by Megasthenes as ' letting out ships on hire for the transport both of passengers and merchandise.' This shows that his supposition is baseless and the Admiral of the Fleet had to perform both civil and military duties. This is also supported by the contents of the chapter on Nāvadhyakṣa (II, 28) in the Arthaśāstra. There we find the regulation that the pirate-ships should be destroyed and that the ships of an enemy's country illegally crossing its limits as also vessels violating the harbour rules should be similarly treated. The taking of this step would not have been possible, if Nāvadhyakṣa had not under him vessels equipped with armed men to carry out the regulation).

(2) Those of the Superintendent of the bullock-trains for transport (*Artha.* II, 29—Go'dhyakṣa). The department under Go'dhyakṣa mentioned in the Arthaśāstra was utilized equally for civil and military purposes just as the departments under Aśvādhyakṣa (II, 30), Hastyadhyakṣa (II, 31) and Nāvadhyakṣa (II, 28) were meant to serve both the purposes. The Go'dhyakṣa had to take charge not only of bulls and cows but also of buffaloes, asses, camels, mules, sheep, goats and dogs. The Arthaśāstra mentions that an army utilizing in a large measure the services of camels, mules, and asses should be marched to fight in a region with scanty rainfall and mire. That there were special arrangements for the transport of provisions, etc., at the time of war is apparent from several passages, *e.g.*, vīvadhāsāraprasāra, *i.e.*, transport of supplies (XII, 4), the guarding of the roads for such transport (XIII, 4), use of carts loaded with fuel, grass, grains, etc. (XIII, 4), use of *vraja* (X, 3) including bulls for transport of goods, *vraja* meaning gomeṣamajāvikam kharoṣṭramasvāśvatarāśca

(II, 6). [*Cf.* also first paragraph of X, 2.] There were also other uses of bulls, and trains of bulls (go-yūthāni) for the purposes of war, *viz.*, the harnessing of bulls as well as horses to chariots in the battle-field by a king having a small number of horses (Artha. X, 4; also X, 3; X, 6; XII, 4). In the description of the department under Go'dhyakṣa (II, 29), we find mention of draught oxen, oxen for pulling carts drawn by pairs, and bulls provided with nose-strings and equalling horses in speed and carrying loads. In view of these evidences, it cannot be denied that the bulls used in war were taken from the department under Go'dhyakṣa.

(3) Taking charge of the foot-soldiers (*cf. Artha.* II, 33—Pattyadhyakṣa).

(4) Taking charge of the horses (*cf. Artha.* II, 30—Aśvādhyakṣa).

(5) Taking charge of the war-chariots (*cf. Artha.* II, 33—Rathādhyakṣa).

(6) Taking charge of the elephants (*cf. Artha.* II, 31, 32—Hastyadhyakṣa).

Megasthenes remarks, "There are royal stables for horses and elephants, and a royal magazine for the arms, because the soldier has to return his arms to the magazine, and the horse and elephant to the stables." In the *Arthaśāstra*, we find mention of an āyudhāgāra under a superintendent. It was to this magazine that soldiers had to return their arms after drill every morning. They could not move about with weapons without passport (*Artha.* V, 3).[1]

Comparison of allocation of duties.

Re II. The question of allocation of duties to particular officers presents an insuperable difficulty because Megasthenes' statements are extremely vague. He says that officers divided into six bodies of five each looked after the affairs of the city[2] and the same number of bodies of five each looked after the military affairs.[3] A body of five officers had charge of the industrial arts, and another similar body of the manufacture of articles. To draw a boundary line between these two fields of work is impossible in the absence of indications of it from Megasthenes himself. Moreover, his statement is not also clear whether the five officers composing a body could also be members of any other of the six bodies mentioned by him for the performance of the civil duties within the city. In these circumstances,

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[1] I am thankful to Mr. Narayanchandra Banerjee, M.A., for kindly drawing my attention to one or two parallels between the Arthaśāstra and Megasthenes' account.

[2] *Vide* the six divisions of duties under (B).

[3] *Vide* D (1) to D (6).

It is not possible to come to a definite conclusion whether the full complement of thirty officers composed the six bodies, or whether a lesser number was required for the purpose. One other obscure point in connection with these bodies is whether one or more superior officers with assistants composed a body, or whether all of them stood on the same footing transacting business by taking charge of particular departments and deciding controversial questions by votes, or by referring to a higher authority or to the king. Had there been a definite number of officers, an attempt could have been made to tally them with those mentioned in the Kauṭilīya, for the latter mentions also quite a number of officers with their allocated duties. In this connection, we should not lose sight of the work of the officials belonging to the *Mantri-pariṣad* a group that was connected with the state-council but was entirely different from it. Kauṭilya states (I, 15) that the number of ministers composing the *Mantri-pariṣad* is to be commensurate with the strength of the state to retain their services and provide work enough for them all. These ministers looked after their respective charges, their duties being mostly of an executive nature. The king consulted the councillors as a matter of course, calling the members of the *Mantri-pariṣad* as well, only in regard to urgent works. (For further particulars, see my *Aspects of Anceint Indian Polity*, pp. 35, 36.) They could easily have been associated with the heads of the various departments for the proper performance of their respective duties.

It is evident from the *Arthaṣāstra* that each department of Government was put under several heads who were transferred from one department to another from time to time (II, 9—bahumukhyamanityam cādhikaraṇaṃ sthāpayet) ; in a different connection (II, 4) Kauṭilya states that the departments of elephants, horses, chariots and infantry will be placed under several heads at a time, as by this arrangement they remain under fear of one another and free from liability to intrigues by enemies.

Degree of correspondence.

We now find the degree of correspondence between the two accounts in regard to the points touched by Megasthenes. It may be objected that the correspondence is due to the fact that the duties mentioned in them were usually performed by the Government officials in ancient India or in every civilized country in those days. The answer to this objection is that there are in the accounts certain features or collocations of features by which the accounts can be singled out as having a common basis, and this basis, by being the object of observation of Megasthenes, belongs to the reign of Chandragupta Maurya. Kauṭilya's account by virtue of these common features is also equally old. In the whole history of India, I want to be shown another period, an account of which would agree so far as to be identical or almost identical with the sketch drawn above. There should be in that account, so far as the civil administration is concerned, a provision for the land-survey, compilation of vital statistics, irrigation through canals provided with sluices, superintendence over several classes of artisans together with a very great attention to trade and commerce, development of various industries including mining, regulation of prices of commodities, check on the correctness of weights and measures, and a sympathetic treatment of foreigners. To these should be added the special features of the military department. How is it that the divisions of work in this department should be six, *viz.*, one for each of the *caturaṅgabala*, one for naval defence, and one for transport; and that these six should tally exactly with what we find in the Arthaśāstra. Moreover, there is another feature common to the two accounts, *viz.*, that the soldiers had to return the horses and elephants to the stables instead of keeping them under their personal care and had also to return their arms to the magazine. Various other ways of dividing the military duties may be suggested, *e.g.*, the horses and elephants could have been kept under the same officer, or the chariots and elephants under a common officer, and so forth. But we find instead the divisions as sketched above by Megasthenes, and they happen to be identical with the description found in the Arthaśāstra. Is it likely that the agreement between the two accounts on so many points should be a case of mere accident, or should be entirely due to the fact that each contains but the features of Indian administration common to it in all periods of its ancient Indian history? I should point out that the coincidences noticed here are but a portion of a larger range of agreements bearing on the administration, the personal habits of the king, etc. (*vide* my *Studies* on the points), a few of which have already been touched in this paper. When these also are taken into account, the whole picture assumes an appearance that can never be missed as the panoramic view of any period of Indian history other than what Kauṭilya and Megasthenes profess to speak of.

(*To be continued*)

NARENDRA NATH LAW

THE PANTHEISTIC ASPECT OF CHRISTIANITY

It is still a matter of pure conjecture whether the religious belief of primitive man was really monotheistic, polytheistic or henotheistic. From the available evidence one may conclude what was the belief of one of the earliest groups of men, but at the same time it may not be possible to determine definitely that such a group represents man at the very first stage of his existence. Thus it is not possible to state with certitude what was the earliest belief of man. However, in spite of such uncertainty, from the investigations already made, it may fairly be stated that monotheism was not the primitive creed of the human race. Some authors point to the history of the Persians in support of the contention that monotheism formed the earliest belief of mankind, as they believed in one God or Ormuz. But it should be noted that though this belief, mentioned in the Zendavesta, may be called monotheistic, there is no positive proof that it was the faith of these same people, before their migration into Persia, when they formed a part of the Aryan race. Max Müller thinks that the Zoroastrians were inhabitants of northern India, before their departure for Persia, and that they started westward, during the Vedic period, can be proved as conclusively as that the inhabitants of Messilia started for Greece. In his opinion it was probably some schism which brought about this exodus. I think the schism may have been due to their refusal to worship the Deity in a polytheistic form, which was then being introduced by their contemporaries in India, or perhaps to their desire to establish their new-found monotheistic faith, amidst the free surroundings of a new country.

There seems to be a general consensus of opinion that the Vedas have a greater antiquity than the Zendavesta. Dr. Haug very explicit on this point. He says. "In the *Gathas,* which are the oldest part of the Zendavesta, we find the Zoroastrians alluding to an old revelation (Yas. XLV, 6) and praising the wisdom of *Saoshyants Atharvas,* the fire priests (Yas. XLVI, 3, XLVIII, 12). He exhorts his party to respect and revere the *Angra* (Yas. XLVIII, 15), that is the *Angiras* of the Vedic hymns, who formed one of the most celebrated priestly families of the ancient Aryans." Thus the reference in the Zendavesta to the Atharva Veda would prove that the former is of a later origin than the latter, which is generally supposed to be the latest of the Vedas. Moreover it is stated in the book *Namah-Zaradusht* that Vyas went to Persia to hold a religious discussion with Zoroaster, and that the latter was told by Ahura Mazda that a very wise Brahman, named Vyas, the like of whom was scarcely to be found in the whole world, would come from India. These facts amply prove that the author of the latest Vedas was at least a contemporary of Zoroaster.

The uncertainty as to the exact nature of the Vedic worship will be apparent from a few quotations from the Vedas. There are many expressions to be met with which convey an idea of monotheism and the following passages may be cited in support of this view.

"I, O Man, lived before the whole universe came into existence. I am the lord of all. I am the eternal cause of the whole creation—Let all people look up to me alone as children to their parents." (Rig Veda, X. 48.)

"By one supreme ruler is this universe pervaded, even every world in the whole circle of Nature. He is the true God." (Yajur Veda, XL. 1.)

Passages like these would seem to establish the fact of the currency of a monotheistic belief in the Vedic times in India, some authors hold, on the evidence of the Rig Veda, namely,

इन्द्रं मित्रं वरुणमग्निमाहुरथो दिव्यः स सुपर्णो गरुट्मान् ।
एकं सद्विप्रा वहुधा वदन्त्यग्निं यमं मातरिश्वानमाहुः ॥

or, that, when several deities are mentioned in the Vedic hymn one God is in truth worshipped, under different names, a therefore the Vedic idea of God cannot be correctly characterised as polytheistic.

If the worshippers had been merely content to call God by many names their argument might have been tenable, as these names appear to define the qualities of the one supreme Person, *e.g.*, in Sanskrit इन्द्रः derivatively means 'the glorious,' मित्रः 'the friendly,' वरुणः 'the greatest and best,' and अग्निः 'the adorable,' etc. But the Vedic worshippers were not content to call God by different names only, but they also conceived the Deity as so many different personalities, each with a separate history and special functions. This cannot properly be termed a monotheistic form of worship.

It should, however, be remembered that the transition of thought from monotheism to pantheism and *vice versâ* is an easy and natural process. As soon as the monotheist recognises the unity of God with the universe, his worship takes the form of pantheism. On the contrary, when the pantheist realises that there is but one Reality behind all existence, he is apt to conclude that all existence is God. So the apparent confusion in the Vedas between these schools of thought really represents the mental pictures of the people of that age, at different stages of their religious experience.

The assertion that monotheism was the first form of man's faith towards God cannot be upheld unless one is prepared to admit that God actually informed primitive man that he was the only God in the universe. But it cannot be seriously maintained that, at the earliest period of human history, such a revelation was ever made. In fact, such a theory is contrary to human experience about the working of the spirit of God in man, which progresses in his mind *pari passu* with its growth in intelligence. So if God's plan is to bring his children gradually into a fuller light of truth, then the prevalence of polytheism, and even idolatry, in the early history of mankind appears not to have been much blameworthy, in as much as all these must have originated from one primary desire of men to seek after God and worship him. The Vedic worshippers of the forces of Nature and the idolaters of later ages are not to be ruthlessly condemned for conceiving God after their own imaginations, but they should rather be credited with the religious feeling, in their time, above their fellows, who were not able to detect anything Divine in the world. If their imaginations borrowed the materials of God from the sense-world it was better than denying his existence hidden from the senses and the reason which explains the sense-perceptions. So to these grand pioneers of religion the world owes the deliverance of the "hidden God." In Nature he was found rather than his existence denied. So if the former imagined gods in the various phenomena of Nature, and the latter taking the materials from the sense-world made images for their worship, in a spirit of reverence, they thought the gods were like the beings they met in the sense-world, and God smiled at their act as an earthly father would smile at that of his little children.

Though in the Vedas polytheism is found to be the prevalent form of worship, one notices a vague but irresistible conception of a pervading unity gradually asserting itself. Did not the Aryan worshippers imagine that in the phenomena of Nature they were actually beholding the outer manifestations of the Deity? I think that the majestic hymn of the Yajur Veda beginning with

"हिरण्यगर्भः समवर्त्तताग्रे भूतस्य जातः पतिरेक आसीत् ।
स दाधार पृथ्वीं द्यामुतेमां कस्मै देवाय हविषा विधेम ॥"

consisting of nine other stanzas and ending with the same refrain, "कस्मै देवाय हविषा विधेम," the true interpretation of which has been a matter of long-standing discussion among oriental scholars, records but the natural outburst of the Aryan worshipper's feeling, when at the dawn of a new light within his heart, he doubted, for the first time, whether his old form of polytheistic worship was right. *Jajnavalka,* the great, in his commentary on this hymn, in *Satapatha Brahmana,* interprets the word **"कस्मै"** thus: **"तस्मै कस्मै प्रजापतये"** (or to God), for **प्रजापतिर्वै कः**, (or the terms **प्रजापतिः** and **कः** are identical in meaning).

This seems to be an unnatural and forced interpretation, for it not only sacrifices grammar but also distorts the meaning of the context, as the refrain plainly shows the doubt of the author of the hymn, as to who should be the object of his worship—God or others ? But if it be taken in its literal and plain sense it records, I think, the newly enlightened state of mind of the Aryan worshipper, with its conception of the unity of God and of the need of modifying his form of worship accordingly. And probably this radical change in religious views brought about the split which led a part of the Aryan race settled in India, to move out into Persia and establish a new form of worship there.

The actual manner in which the transition from polytheism to monotheism took place, among primitive mankind, cannot now be clearly traced. It seems, however, plausible to suppose that, at the very first stage of human existence, the primitive man must have been struck by the natural phenomena around him. His first thoughts in the presence of the powers and the beauties of Nature, must have been those of admiration mingled with awe ; and actuated by the desire of self-preservation, he naturally sought to avert dire visitations by such mighty manifestations. Gradually, the feeling of reverence became permanent in him, and his mind instinctively turned towards the authors of these phenomena.

Thus in the Vedas, perhaps the oldest of the religious scriptures of the world, we find the Aryans worshipping the various forces of nature, though the relative positions of the gods continue to change in the minds of the worshippers. The cycle of the seasons, ushering in changes in the scenery provided an opportunity for a corresponding change in their religious feelings. At one time a god, at the back of a particular natural phenomenon, becomes supreme over the rest ; and at another time, another god, at the back of another natural phenomenon, takes the position of the former. And also, at times, the identity of the different gods is felt in their minds. At a later age may not the Aryan devotee have thought that the powers of Nature, his gods, after all though appearing diverse and separate, were mysteriously related to one another or even were really one ? When subsequently the worshipper's advanced thought led him to imagine the universe to be the one Reality, he began to believe that the God behind the natural phenomena must also be One. It would not be unreasonable to conclude that similar development in religious thought took place in other races of mankind, for after all "One touch of nature maketh the whole world kin."

It is a relief to find that if the venerable Vedic sages were engaged in their days in theological pursuits, they were simply content to realise the conception of the Deity as to what it is like and what it is not, instead of trying to analyse its ingredients by disquisitions that

> "distinguish and divide
> A hair 'twixt south and south-west side."

And if they failed to arrive at a finality with respect to the exact nature of God, it need cause no wonder, as after centuries of thought and discussion man has not yet reached a definite knowledge about many fundamental questions even regarding himself or mind or matter. As to theology, we find that even in religions which are known to be founded on the belief in a personal God, such as Christianity and Brahmanism, there are expressions which betray the idea of an impersonal Deity, *e.g.*, "God is Love," "**सत्यं ज्ञानमनन्तं ब्रह्म**," etc. So with regard to a final solution of the question as to what God really is, we are not nearer to a definite answer than our ancestors were. The great Athenian spoke well when he said, "All that we know is that nothing can be known."

Coming now to a brief investigation of the primitive beliefs of the Jewish people, some authors are of opinion that in the

Old Testament monotheism is presented as the belief of the first man. But nowhere in it it seems to be clearly stated that God taught him that there was only one God. It is, of course, asserted in the Bible that God created the heaven and the earth, but there is no mention that Adam was instructed to that effect. Adam knew God only through his outward works, but whether his idea of him was polytheistic, pantheistic, henotheistic, monotheistic or anthropomorphic, is not definitely known.

The early Jewish belief is supposed to have been a monotheistic one; and Abraham, the founder of the Jewish tribe, an offshoot of the Semitic race, is said to have propagated it. Nothing, however, is known as to what his son Isaac did actually believe; but there is sufficient evidence to show that in the family of his grandson Jacob idolatry was not altogether unknown. After him, the uncontradicted evidence of Jewish history shows that the Jewish people, now and again, reverted to idolatrous practices. It is significant that even while Moses was in intimate conversation with Jehovah, receiving from him instructions as to law and the constitution of society, an ungraven image was set up for worship, as a ban had been placed on graven images. And indications are not wanting which show that from the time of the Judges to the end of the prophetic age, the Jews were constantly forsaking Jehovah and going astray after other gods. Throughout the books of the Prophets there runs a continuous wail of the jealous Jehovah, bitterly lamenting the fact that his chosen people were going away from him to serve other gods, like Baal, Moloch, etc. So that one feels inclined to conclude that though monotheism was the theoretical form of worship among the Jews, the practice was otherwise. In this discrepancy between theory and practice, we can see the great difficulty the Jews experienced in getting rid of the old Semitic instinct which was far from monotheistic. Renan's belief to the contrary, the statement that a monotheistic instinct was peculiar to the Semitic race, has again and again been convincingly refuted.

In the Jewish Cabbala, which aims at interpreting the hidden meaning of the Old Testament, and the authorship of which is ascribed to the angel Razael, the God-appointed teacher of Adam, it is stated that the creation is a manifestation of the concealed God. Therefore, creation must be eternal, since non-existence can never become existence. In this thought one sees a wonderful approximation to Brahmanic philosophy, " **नाभावो विद्यते भावः ।** " According to the Vedantic philosophy there is no distinction between the soul of God and that of man, and there is no distinction between God and living entities, except what lies between the tree and its stem,—branches, leaves and flowers.

Philo the ancient Jewish religious philosopher's explanation of creation savours equally of pantheism. According to him, the world is but the emanation of the Logos, which in its turn is the thought and the emanation of God. The conclusion, then, that forces itself into one's mind is that throughout the ancient Jewish thought and philosophy, there runs a very strong current of pantheism.

I then come to study Christian thought and philosophy. My aim is to call the attention of the reader to what appears as the pantheistic aspect of Christian belief. I am not unmindful of the fact that Christian writers have not seldom emphasised God's transcendence; but my object here is to elicit the evidence which would point to a pantheistic conception. So if my expressions appear over-emphasised, and perhaps even one-sided, at times, the reader will understand that I am aiming at the presentation of only one aspect of Christianity. My conclusions cannot be expected to be sharp like those of a dogma of authority, but I shall endeavour to show that they are worthy of the serious consideration of the student of religion, for their reasonableness. I am conscious of the streaks of sentimentality, at times, evident in my writing, for which my subject is primarily responsible for stimulating my feeling. But I hope it will not interfere with the judgment of the reader, as I shall show that Christian scripture has established such a strong presumption in favour of pantheism that it cannot be altogether exorcised from Christianity: any attempt at its expulsion, of what has made it a live religion, will make it one of the book only.

To begin with, in Christian belief God or rather his Logos has become incarnated in the world, and in it are all things. It is also believed that the union of man with God will be consummated, some day, when through Christ the *summum Conum* of his redemptive work will have been accomplished in the world. Here the picture presented of Christ, to man's dull senses—the visible representation of God who is invisible—has a distinct pantheistic background.

In view of my aim, as set forth before, let me gather together the thoughts of some of the leading thinkers of Christianity on this subject. According to Dionysius, the Areopagite, who is said to have been converted by St. Paul, and afterwards became Bishop of Athens, there is a Universal Being, consisting of all grades of existences, from God down to the lowest creatures. God permeates all existences and he has called them to be the co-sharers of his existence, in different degrees, according to their respective capacities. The Divinity of Christ is both the cause and complement of all things, and within it all things are embraced and comprehended. This reminds one of the remarkable allegory in the *Bhagavat Gita* in which Krishna is represented as the '*Virat-Purush*' or the Stupendous Being, in which all existences have their being.

Justin Martyr, a famous early Christian father, thinks that as God is one being, he could not reveal himself to man except through some visible object. The cause of Christ's existence being God, and the cause of creation being Christ, as stated in St John's Gospel, the world and God must equally be one and identical, as the effect is nothing but the manifestation of its cause,' " कारणस्यैव संस्थानं कार्यम् "

According to Hippolytus, an ecclesiastical writer of the first half of the third century A. D., a solitary existence for God cannot really be conceived, as he could never be without the word or wisdom. Therefore, all was in him and he was himself the all.

Tertutulian, one of the greatest writers in the Church of the West after Augustine, maintains that unlike man, God is both visible and invisible. He is in all places, in whom is every place and who is in no place—a distinctly pantheistic teaching.

Origen, perhaps the greatest theologian of the third century A.D., thinks that God is one, but Logos "the Word of God made flesh" which proceeds from the Father, is many. The time will come when we all will be the sons of God, and as the only-begotten one is Divine, by reason of sharing the Divine nature with the Father, so God will be all-in-all.

Augustine, the greatest theologian of the Latin Church, says, that God as the creative substance is diffused everywhere, and but for his presence in creation everything will cease to exist. In some of his writings may be noticed a pantheistic vein of thought, which he could not declare openly for fear of clashing with the prevailing theology of his time.

The teaching of Athanasius, who fathered the present creed of the Catholic church, may be summed up in one sentence, "God became man in Christ, so that through Christ man may be made God"—an idea which is palpably pantheistic.

In the Mediæval age the leading thinkers were seriously perplexed with the problem of creation which offers an insuperable difficulty in all theistic systems. Thomas Aquinas, though anxious to separate God from his creation, was conscious that theology demanded that such separation should be, in some measure, abandoned, and so, contrary to the professed design of his writings, he betrayed a desire to bridge over the chasm. According to him the eternity of creation cannot be refuted.

So he had to declare that the theory of a creation *in tempore*, though opposed to reason, can only be an object of faith. Duns Scotus, the *doctor subtilis*, says, that matter is but another form of spirit, and goes on to call God the materialised principle of all things. God, then, must be found, in some way, in all things. Roscellin, the founder of Nominalism, denies the existence of parts as separate existences from the whole. Servitus, whose philosophical views were in opposition to the ecclesiastical dogma of the Trinity, but which were like those of the early Fathers, says, "God is one and indivisible. He created the world out of himself—of his substance and essence. He actuates all things and is projected alike into Christ and man." According to St. Jerome "God is interfused and circumfused both within and without the world." Sinesius, Bishop of Ptolemais, says, that a fragment of God descended into matter. It is the one in the midst of all plurality. It is God that appears and God that is hidden.

John Tauler, a favourite with the German Reformers, maintains that God lives in man and that for this reason the annihilation of self is advantageous, in as much as man thereby returns completely to God, the origin of his existence. This sounds very much like the Buddhistic *Nirvana.* The author of the mystic book 'Theologia Germanica' is at one with Tauler. "The self must, in submission to eternal Goodness, be done away with in order to secure its complete emancipation." "The Perfect is that Being who has comprehended and included all things in himself, and in whom all things have their substance, for he is the substance of all things." William Law, a Cambridge divine, thinks that what is not God is an emanation of God. He is all-in-all; everything is in him, and men are the partakers of his nature.

According to Descartes, the founder of modern Idealism, man is finite. There must be one who is the complement of man's being—the infinity of his finitude, the perfection of his imperfection. There exists an Infinite being, and there exists an infinite universe, and these two infinites must meet at a certain point. God is immanent in the universe. In the opinion of Spinoza, the material is only phenomenal, and its reality is only God. His being is distributed throughout all the different grades of the finite creation. For Fichte, who did not believe in a personal God, lest he should be compelled to ascribe limitation to the Absolute and the Infinite, Divine existence is only pure thought, and beyond that man knows of no other kind of existence. God is not in man only, but he is in all nature. Frederic Robertson says that the world is but the Deity manifested—God shown to the senses. According to Emerson, Empedocles was right in considering himself as God. The imperfect man in adoring the Deity worships only his perfect self. This reminds one of an incident in the *Devi Sukta* of the Rig Veda, where it is stated that Vak, the daughter of Amvrishtha *rishi*, in singing hymns for adoring God, happened to sing hymns in her own adoration. According to Renan, some have limited and lessened God by excluding from him everything which is not considered his own self. Dr. Caird thinks that the finite spirit, considered by itself and not as a correlate of the Infinite spirit, is a mere abstraction. All finite existences must, therefore, be referred to an organic whole in which both the finite and the Infinite would be united. In his opinion the God of Christianity cannot be considered as a numerical unit.

(*To be continued*)

G. C. GHOSH

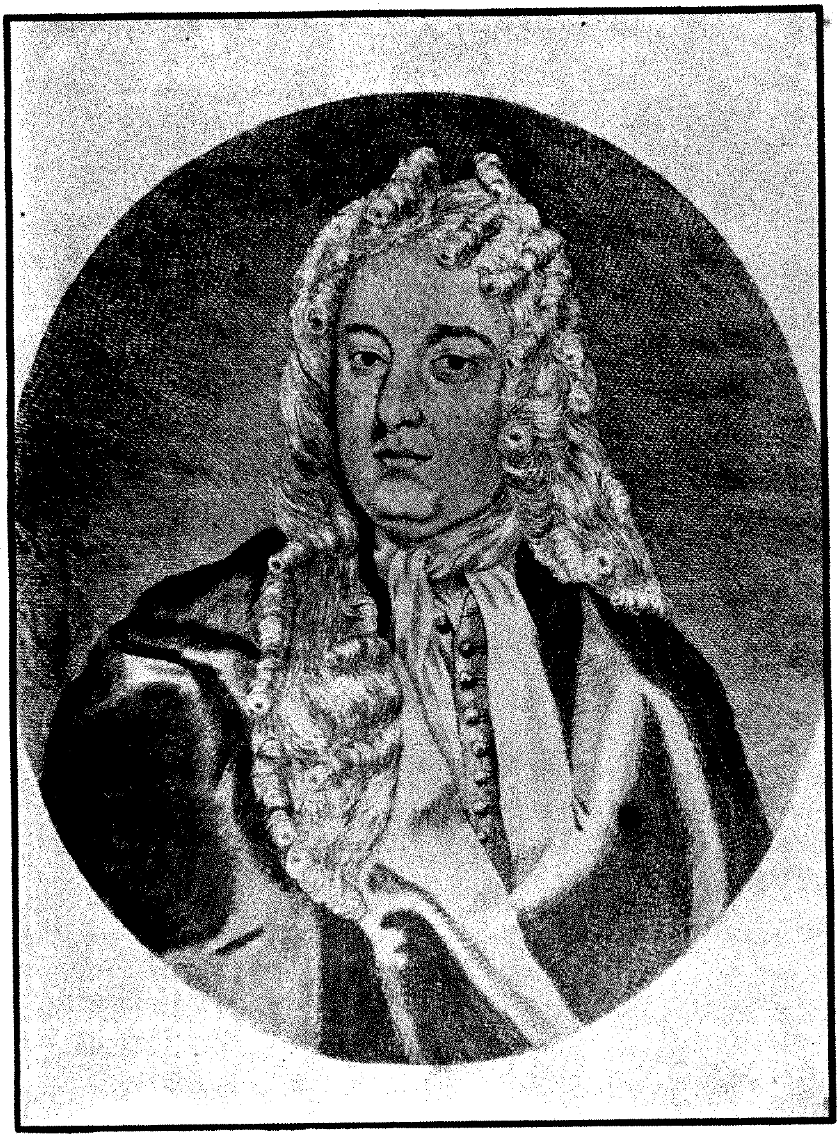
THE EMBASSY OF SIR WILLIAM NORRIS, BART, TO AURANGZEBE

When the New or English Company was formed to engage in the East Indian trade, it was not only favoured with a royal charter, but Sir William Norris was sent out to forward its interests, invested with the dignity of English Ambassador to the Mogul—representing the greatest monarch in Europe to the greatest monarch in Asia, as it was pompously expressed. He was of a good Lancashire family, of ability and education, having been Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and of high personal character. In politics a Whig he was elected member of Parliament for Liverpool in 1695, in succession to his elder brother. Though he was the king's Ambassador and created a Baronet in order to give him a suitable standing, his salary and the whole expenses of his mission were paid by the English Company.

This was his first difficulty: that he was not simply the representative of the King, engaged on a mission for the benefit of his countrymen in general, but the paid agent of a trading company which was endeavouring to oust the Old or London Company from the privileged position it had hitherto enjoyed. This latter Company had no intention of dying out quietly. On the contrary it stirred up its agents in India to oppose by every means possible the success of the rival undertaking. As one means they were to buy up the Indian products and ship them to Europe, so that the new-comers might find less to buy and have to pay higher prices and then find the home market flooded with Eastern goods and so be obliged to sell at a loss. The Old Company also planned to send an embassy of their own, but this was dropped; instead an Armenian *Vakeel* was sent from Surat to the Mogul's court to create prejudice against the New Company and to prevent the Ambassador's success by all means in his power. Sir William's dual character was thus a hindrance.

A second difficulty arose from his decision to land on the east coast of India and so journey to the Mogul's camp, the Emperor having no fixed residence, being engaged in constant warfare at the time. Sir William left England in January, 1698-99, and arrived at Masulipatam in the following September. The New Company's agent, whom the king had appointed English consul also, had reached that place a few weeks earlier, and was able to prepare a welcome. One reason for the choice of the port was that as yet the New Company had no representative at Surat, then the chief Indian port. Sir William Norris landed on September 25, marching with much state to his lodging in what had been the King of Golkonda's palace. Vast crowds came out to meet him; the Old Company as well as the New took part in the reception and the local Governor also met him. Popular entertainments, fireworks, etc., made the occasion a festival. The four English men-of-war which had conveyed the Ambassador and his numerous suite, soon afterwards left Masulipatam in order to execute their principal mission —the suppression of piracy, largely carried on by Europeans, in the Indian seas. In this they had a certain amount of success, but the squadron returned to England in 1701, too soon, it would appear, to have made an impression on the Mogul's advisers.

Then it became apparent that Masulipatam was not a convenient place for the despatch of the Embassy. Sir William duly gave the Mogul notice of his arrival in the capacity of Ambassador from the King of England, with the object of promoting trade and good relations; and in due course he received intimation that the various permits and mandates had been readily granted by the Mogul, so that he and his train could travel safely and unhindered to the camp. The permits, however, were very long in coming, and this



SIR WILLIAM NORRIS, BART.

delay was caused not only by the great distance but also, so Sir William suspected, by intrigues and bribery conducted by the Old Company's agents. The months passed by without it being possible to make a start; and though he should have been on his way early in the year, by June he had resolved to change his plans and take sihp to Surat and make his journey thence to the Mogul. In this he was encouraged by the New Company's officials at Surat, who undertook to have all preparations made; but he appears to have been determined chiefly by the suspicions he had come to entertain concerning the New Company's local agents. These ought to have been his principal assistants in his mission, and there seems no proper explanation of the nine months' delay by which they wearied him into the conviction that he could not proceed by way of Masulipatam. Sir William had had an early conflict with the Mogul Governor, but that seems to have passed over; his suspicions, however, were aroused by the local President's interpreter, and then rested on this President (Pitt) himself, with whom he quarrelled, and whose conduct he reported to the Court of Directors.

This incident shows that Sir William was lacking in the patience and tact required in an Ambassador. A thoroughly honourable and upright man he found himself in India surrounded by scheming and ambitious men and began to suspect fraud and deceit in every action. Nothing was to be done with the Mogul Governors and officials except by bribery, and Sir William, offensive as it must have been to him, eventually had to do the same as others. Probably he did not do it skilfully, as is revealed by an incident he tells of his later negotiations. Suspecting that an offer of 1,000 *mohurs* to one of the Mogul's chief advisers had not been duly conveyed to him, he took the opportunity of a letter to him to "slip in" a promise of the same; but this direct method gave offence and the official became more hostile.

After wasting time at Masulipatam Sir William sailed round India to Surat where he arrived, after a four months' passage, on December 10. He was received with a salute from the Mogul's man-of-war, and made a state entry into the town on December 26, the Governor having received a large present. Here he met the New Company's President at the port, Sir Nicholas Waite, who at first appears to have done his best to forward the Embassy, and on January 27, he set out from Surat on his nine weeks march to the Mogul's camp. What chiefly annoyed him at Surat was the conduct of the Old Company's President and officials, who steadily refused to recognise him, and gave out to the local authorities that he was no Ambassador from the King of England, but merely the representative of a company of merchants. He heard also that Sir John Gayer, Governor of Bombay, the Old Company's chief representative in India, who was then in Surat, had expressed Jacobite sentiments, speaking of the true king in France.

Sir Nicholas Waite, who at first assisted Sir William Norris, was an unscrupulous man, determined to injure the Old Company in all ways possible. On his arrival he was assisted by finding it in bad odour with the authorities. As already mentioned European pirates, including the notorious Captain Kidd, had been busy in the Indian seas and the Mogul was greatly incensed at the injures done to the commerce of his subjects and particularly at the despoiling of pilgrim ships bound for Mecca, because this added sacrilege to robbery. The European merchants at Surat, including the Old Company's agents, had accordingly been forced to give an indemnity bond, promising compensation for those whose property was taken by the pirates. This bond was given about the time Sir William sailed from England, and is frequently mentioned in his correspondence. The New Company was not directly concerned in it, but the Indian Governors, and the Mogul himself, were little able or inclined to distinguish between one body of English traders and another. The payment of compensation was resisted, and in the result Sir John Gayer and the Old Company's servants were confined to their factory for some years, with occasional intervals of liberty. Sir Nicholas Waite was active in the persecution, trying to fasten charges of piracy on the Old Company's ships. Sir William Norris, however, refused to assist him, desiring to do justice to all.

But it was to Sir Nicholas Waite that the Embassy owed its most serious obstacle. On his first arrival at Surat, without consulting Sir William, then at Masulipatam, he had written to the Mogul asking for various privileges for the New Company and had rashly promised to give security for navigation, subject to the granting of a separate *phirmand* for his own Presidency of Surat. In reporting this letter to Sir William he did not mention this promise, and so Sir William remained in ignorance of it. Yet it was on this matter of security for navigation, and compensation for failure to give it, that the Mogul chiefly insisted when negotiations were actually begun.

Sir William Norris reached the Mogul's camp near the castle of Parnello (Panalla), which was taken soon afterwards, at the beginning of April, and on the 28th of April was formally received in audience. His requests were at first received favourably, and all appeared to be going on well. But the Mogul's ministers assumed that Waite's undertaking for the security of the seas would be fulfilled, and when the Ambassador had to repudiate it the *phirmands* were delayed, until at length Sir William's patience was exhausted and he left the Mogul's camp on November 5. During this interval of waiting he had accompanied the Mogul on his marches, but does not seem to have had more than two interviews with him. The Mogul in the end appears to have been as wearied of the matter as Sir William, and wrote to one of his ministers that "if the Ambassador refused to give security for the seas he might return to England the way he came."

Thus this long drawn out mission ended in failure. Some of the reasons for the failure have been stated already. The duration of the mission was another, making it very expensive, so that it proved a serious burden on the resources of the New Company, whose agents were bound to supply the funds. The heavy bribery of the Old Company's agents had to be counterbalanced by other bribery; and apart from bribery there were so many Governors and officials of the Mogul who had to be "gratified" by presents that the mission must in any case have proved costly. At an early stage Sir William became convinced that the presents he had brought from England were not nearly enough for the multitude of expectants, and asked Sir Nicholas Waite to procure more. The more corrupt officials had every inducement to delay the issuing of the desired *Phirmands*, for the longer the negotiations could be extended, the more opportunity would there be for fresh bribes.

Sir William's lack of tact in dealing with his English colleagues has been noticed. He was not conversant with Indian customs and failed to make friends with the Mogul's vizier, and this through a mere matter of etiquette. Sir Nicholas Waite appears to have noticed the Ambassador's tendency to pomposity, for he warned him not to stand on nice points of etiquette with the Indian officials. Yet even with a more experienced and tactful Ambassador, success would have been difficult. A serious blow came from England; for though the New Company had the support of the King and Government, and it was given out that the Old Company would cease to exist in September 1701, this Company succeeded in obtaining an act granting it perpetuity. The news of this success reached India just at the time when the Ambassador was at Surat and ready to proceed to the Mogul's camp. The Indian authorities became more puzzled than before as to the difference between the Old Company and the New, and as Sir William Norris and the agents of the New Company had asserted the speedy decease of the Old, their credit was greatly injured. Their word had proved false in this; what reliance could be placed on it?

Sir William left the camp on November 5, 1701. He had obtained the necessary passports but had not taken formal leave of the Emperor. Whether this behaviour was resented, or whether the Emperor was ashamed of his own uncourteous treatment of the Ambassador, or perhaps afraid of some English reprisal, by his orders Sir William was stopped on his return journey and detained at Brampore (Burhampuri) for more than two months. At length the Emperor sent him a letter and sword for the King, and a promise that the *Phirmands* would be sent on, and then Sir William was allowed to proceed. On March 12, after a month's journey, he reached Surat, where Sir Nicholas Waite, who had become very hostile, could scarcely be brought to pay him attention; and he sailed thence on May 5. He had a rest at Mauritius in July and August, but soon after resuming the voyage he was taken ill and died at sea on October 10, 1702.

HARIHAR DAS

A RATIONALISTIC VIEW OF POESY, III

The Reason and the Emotions.

Poesy bears to the reason on the one hand and to the emotions on the other an extremely complex relationship, which requires analysis for purposes of classification. It owes its power and charm, and appeals for approbation, to both.

Biological evolution implies a destructive as well as a constructive process. Differentiation or successive becoming means change, that is, the conjunction of the processes of addition and subtraction. It means the addition of useful new qualities and the dropping of unserviceable old ones.

If civilization means a continuation of biological evolution this conjunction must be reflected in the civilized people as contrasted with savages. Useful faculties must have been added or strengthened while the unserviceable ones have either ceased to exist or become weakened. Civilization must strengthen the reason, the latest acquisition in biological evolution, namely, in that stage of it in which man began to develop and honour ethical, as contrasted with cosmic values. Is this invigoration accompanied by a parallel enervation of the emotions? On the answer to this question depends the distinctive value of a given civilization. Ancient Indian civilization at one stage of its evolution at least in the higher planes of life, moved in a line artfully chosen to strengthen the reason at the expense of the emotions. The emotions are in the plural and divided into good and bad, useful and pernicious. But Indian Philosophy made no discrimination. The annihilation of all the emotions without exception was the means, in its eye, of transmuting our whole being into speculative activity, lifting it into full freedom and fruition, at the same time dispelling all sorrow, and making impossible all titillative and tinglish pricks and interferences of transitory environment. The Philosophy of Spinoza in the West closely approximates to this ideal of life. But since his time Philosophy has taken a new turn, and Western civilization never has had an opportunity of assimilating the doctrine of the great German Philosopher. Along with the development of reason it has, while substantially weakening some of the emotions, developed others in a monstrous fashion. No doubt the emotions which appeared to be useful for the environment of the moment or, say, of the age, were cultivated, while the apparently unserviceable or pernicious ones were neglected or discouraged so far as human choice had a hand in the progress of civilization. The latter emotions appear to be the ones, most in favour with the Muses; and this unlucky fact largely explains the developing decline of poesy with the developing progress of Western civilization. The best poets in Europe flourished in the early years of the modern era. Dante, Moliere, Shakespeare and Milton belong to that age. Subsequent poëts have acquired fame for performances whose value is more intellectual than emotional. The general decline of poesy is acknowledged on all hands. What remained of the poetic spirit was finally crushed by the mechanical revolution of the closing years of the eighteenth century, when the military spirit, though itself vastly developed, had to yield precedence to the industrial spirit,—when the spirit of piracy though itself stronger than ever before paid homage to the economic spirit, that is, to the study of the dismal science. Unfeigned open-minded piracy had taken a new turn towards camouflage and disingenuousness. The Muses were left to starve in a fruit garden abounding with emotions, and to thirst for water in the ocean. The water was salt and the fruits were bitter. They refused to sing in praise of Hermes, who presided over trade and theft, that is, over the exploitation of nature and neighbour on a scale undreamt of before, and unceremoniously drove the damsels out of

Parnassus for their intransigent recalcitrancy. This is how poesy has declined in the West, where the prosaic pragmatic faculties having developed to climacteric heights are at the present moment threatening to dethrone the upstart deity, and to send him to St. Helena from the economic theocracy of Europe. Bolshevism is taking the lead in this new movement. Further, the desire to shut up Mars within his temple, and the consequent disarmament policy of the Western world, bid fair to mar the enthusiasm with which the worship of Hermes has been conducted so long with such splendid success. Thirdly, the exploited people of the world, the chief dupes and sufferers of trade and piracy are becoming self-conscious and self-assertive against the parasitic empire developed by Western civilization. Briefly speaking, Western civilization has developed by the power of unmusical emotions, which having driven out the Muses are now threatening to undermine that civilization.

The sentiment of honour is, no doubt, strong in Western nationalism but the passion of self-interest is stronger. The first lends itself exquisitely to poesy, but the second is repugnant to it. Hence, whatever poetic inspiration is roused by the former is effectually choked by the suffocating influence of the latter. The British Prime Minister in declaring war against Germany in 1914 A.D. treated the House of Commons to a lengthy lecture, which began with strong insistence on the demands of national honour, and ended with a detailed description of the British interests, which were likely to be jeopardized by the victory of Germany over France and Belgium. No poet would venture to write a poem out of the whole speech. He might be tempted to try his art with the first half. But such a truncated poem would represent a repugnant unreality which Anglo-Saxon taste would disdain to tolerate.

Altruism has played a large part in the civilization of the West, but unfortunately it is subordinated to egoism. Sympathy also is active; but, unluckily, it is limited to lucrative beneficence, and is tainted by the limitations of self-interest, which cloaked by the pretence of benefiting others, looks execrable when discovered. The Muses have a horror of hypocrisy and sham. They love unpragmatic self-sacrifice attended with avoidable, unprofitable suffering rather than benefits bestowed with the eyes turned inward. They appreciate self-disregarding more than other-regarding virtues. Their aversion to Western utility overpowers their love of beauty, which, though not profuse, is not absent in Western civilization. But even the most exquisite beauty, subordinated to utility, rouses their indignation. The presence of half-concealed, half-revealed pragmatic purposiveness in the heroism of the West annoys the Muses, however beneficent and melioristic the ultimate issue may be to social welfare. The Victoria Cross is a wet blanket thrown upon them when advancing to signalize the heroic deed that called it forth. They are disgusted by the intrusion of meaner worshippers of true heroism, and they include governmental advances in such category. Public charity is corrupted first, by the collective idea of benefiting the soulless personality of society, and not the individual in distress, and secondly, by the favour of government bestowed on donors in the shape of titles, honours, civic privileges and other advantages. It is generally a barter or trade transaction, hitherto conducted, with a false show of decency, on the credit system, now persistently tending towards the more reliable and efficacious principle of payment in cash. Governments and international affairs are conducted on the combined principle of phenomenal appearance and noumenal reality. The universe looks like a universal masquerade, a Himalayan mock-ball. The Muses, as already said, have a horror of diplomacy, duplicity, sham and squinting unreality, which combines Jacob's voice and Esau's hands.

From the evolution point of view, as between the reason and the emotions, both parts of human nature, the reason is younger than the emotions, and therefore ought to be stronger, unless it is still in its childhood. In the conflict between the two parties the chances were that the emotions should be either exterminated or enslaved in the course of Western civilization, like the Red Indians and the Negroes respectively in the progress of Western expansion. But in truth, while some of the emotions were starved and fettered, such as love and reverence, others were so pampered that they eventually challenged the supremacy of the reason in the governance of the world and the progress of Western civilization. Reason, instead of commanding, obeyed some of the emotions, generally the vilest among them, six of which are specially collated in Hindu philosophy as the most dangerous enemies of the "Central Monad" in man.

It has drudged, and worked wonders like the slave-artists of Greece. It has created constructive and destructive appliances, improved the useful arts and applied science on a stupendous scale. It has helped to find gratifications for the ascendant emotions by prostituting its heavenly faculties. The destructive weapons far outweigh the constructive ones, both mechanical and psychological. Here lies the secret of the ascendancy of the civilization for a hundred and fifty years and its impending decline. The psychological and ethical inventions are really more powerful for immediate good and ultimate evil than the inventions of Physics and Chemistry, though to the average mind the latter seem more weighty. Is not the cultivation of jealousy and self-assertion, as national virtues, more dangerous to humanity in the long run than gun cotton and poisonous gas? There are inventions which are purely constructive. There are also inventions which combine the two aspects. These latter are more dangerous than the former like camouflage, which is more mischievous than angry plain speech.

For my purpose, the estrangement of the Muses seems to be one of the most remarkable events in the history of the passing splendid civilization of the West. The literary expression of unfettered reason ought to be pure science and noble philosophy, that of enslaved reason is Applied Science and ignoble pragmatism. Enslaved reason is known as practical reason, and unfettered reason, asserting and exercising primacy in the human mind is called 'Pure Reason.' Pure reason places its services at the disposal of the higher self; practical reason serves to aggrandise the lower self.

The conflict between the two selves constitutes the fundamental problem of human life. It appears under different names, *viz.*, man and the world; spirit and matter; soul and body; mind and nature; man and the universe; the self and the not-self. Reconciliation is found in god, the immanent; or god the transcendent; or, in monism or dualism. Sometimes satisfaction is obtained in mere compromise. In the West agnosticism is the prevailing tone of philosophy, while practical life is conducted upon the ethics of Hæckelian monism, which finds the spirit to spring out of matter. This denies all moral responsibility after death, and to all intents and purposes postulates the subordination of the soul to the body. Intellectual belief, however, is confused by the lingering vestiges of Christianity, and the average mind in the hours of contemplation, finds itself perplexed by the question which of the two selves should have the primacy in thought and action. The general compromise is of a too ludicrous nature to mention. It gives to the higher self ascendancy in thought, and to the lower self ascendancy in action. The compromise occasionally pinches the scruples of some people, but for practical purposes the higher self is as good as non-existent, and the division between pure reason and practical reason is a myth confined to a small circle of philosophers of the Kantian type.

Practical reason by placing its services at the disposal of the emotions tends continually to subordinate the interests of the higher self to those of the latter. It brings forth pragmatism, psychological as well as ethical. It tempts human nature by the prospect of immediate reward, and turns it back by the prospect of immediate punishment. Psychological pragmatism is ennobled by the name of Humanism, as if it had a close relationship to Eudemonism. The general purpose of Humanism is to dethrone the higher self and to make the lower self the centre of gravity of the universe. Ethical pragmatism is ordinarily known as utilitarianism. The root principle of Western civilization is pragmatistic in both aspects. Pragmatism is another name for expediency. It looks to immediate human interest, though it pretends to take account of ultimate interest, and the whole interest. The "ultimate" and the "whole" are meaningless in a philosophy which denies finality to reality and truth. No wonder the pragmatism of Western civilization has exhibited brilliant success. But the Muses hate pragmatism. Nothing is more abhorrent to their nature than this last principle of human thought or human conduct. Thus with increasing success Western civilization has lost her poetry, her sense of the dignity of beauty, which she is trying to marry to utility. Even as a woman is married to a man, making obeisance to the latter and living in the subservience of obsequious inequality, Beauty is carried into crockery and industrial machinery, a Railway boiler or funnel for instance. Can the Muses be decorously invited to sing the glory of this desecrated Beauty? Poets have disappeared, and novelists have taken their place. Fine furniture, fine clothes, delicious tea in the morning, exciting football in the afternoon, provincial Newspapers in the evening, and flirtation thereafter.—These things form the charm of novels. They come in shiploads out of the Press every day, and corrupt tastes, tempt love, and strengthen pugnacity and international jealousy, sexual treachery, and parasitic brutality.

Self-assertion: A Potent Cause of the Decline of Poesy.

I have already indicated that poetry favours self-sacrifice and turns away from self-assertion. In practical life self-assertion is common, and self-sacrifice is rare. It may also be observed that in Western civilization, and among people who are slowly coming under its influence self-sacrifice is tending to disappear altogether. What is common may seem to be mere vulgar routine, but it seems to be more useful to human life; at least its usefulness possesses a greater immediacy. The theory of biological progress rests upon the usefulness of self-assertion. This usefulness must be immediate, for remote usefulness is meaningless where change is constant, and is, by its nature, invisible and therefore ineffective specially for purposive action. Sacrifice, whether caused by the self or what is out side it, is ruinous, preventing not only progress, but preservation. Self-sacrifice in the long run means suicide, and since being is better than not being, self-sacrifice must be regarded as a vice. And if the Muses favour self-sacrifice they work for the destruction of man, and ought not merely to receive no homage from him, but to be sent into exile or to the gallows. The decline of poetry subconsciously effected by man ought to form no subject for lamentation, but rather for rejoicing. We ought to have the courage to say that poetry is delightfully declining by the power of growing civilization like the heat of summer by the approach of autumn, or like the cold of winter by the approach of spring. But we never have this courage. There seems to exist some misunderstanding somewhere. But the above perhaps is the general tone and trend of thought entertained by the Darwinian, the pragmatistic, the progressive civilization of the West. It represents the general undercurrent of thought and is the guide of conduct. Self-assertion is specially useful to men when they deal with people whose philosophy of life has a genuine respect for self-sacrifice. Since for several centuries the Western people have been in close contact with peoples of this last type, and have consequently acquired brilliant results, the undercurrent had been gradually curling up to the surface until the great war brought doubts and misgivings and weakened its force. The great war has so far done very little more in the shape of a mental turnover. It has created no new mentality, but only changed a little the strength of the old. The general psychology moves in the same line as before, but moves with a retarded velocity. Indeed, a psychology that has continually and almost uninterruptedly developed for four centuries with brilliant general triumphs and episodes cannot be expected to leave the pride-filled heart of the civilized West abruptly or without resistance, unless compelled by the force of more destructive and more convincing experience.

H. G. Wells in his recent production, "The Salvaging of Civilization" has tried to probe deep into the causes of the disaster and its prevention in future. He has gradually moved from objective ground to subjective base, from change of action and reaction to change of will; from change of will to change of ideas and change of heart; but he has not dared specifically to think of the change of the baneful emotions. He has not dared to ask for the conversion of the self-assertive spirits to the spirit of self-sacrifice or of indifference to self-interest, but only to broaden the outlook of that spirit by directing it to the benefit not of a sect or a class or a nation, but of mankind at large. The position taken up by him does not seem to be sound enough. Self-assertion, if it is allowed to remain alive, must have something or somebody against which or whom it can assert itself. Mr. Wells thinks it will be satisfied with asserting itself against mouse, mosquito and microbe, the harbingers of pestilence. But what poet can expect to receive from the Muses inspiration to sing his glory of the hero who devises contrivances for killing minute larvæ and small litters?

Misunderstanding on the question of self-assertion arises from a lamentable lack of discrimination between the higher-self and the lower-self. The Muses do not condemn self-assertion, but the assertion of the lower-self against the claims of the higher. They reserve high encomiums for the assertion of the higher-self. The lower-self is incessantly engaged in asserting itself against the higher, and the problem of human life consists mainly in keeping the two selves in good working order. This problem implies a knowledge of the relative position of the two selves, and in checking any aggressive spirit in either. Neither self can live without the other in its present environment. Man must act as well as think. He must eat and drink as well as know himself and the world around him,—not so much parts of it in detail, but the entire universe as a whole. Generally knowledge of the parts is necessary for the life of the lower-self, and knowledge as a whole for that of the higher. The knowledge of Western civilization is almost entirely limited to the parts and has aggrandised the lower-self disproportionately. The process of life indicated by me implies the complete subordination of the lower-self to the higher. Whatever the method of attainment, however long the time required for attaining it, the ultimate conceivable goal of life must be to attain a knowledge of the world as a whole, not so much by summating the knowledge of its infinity of parts, for that seems impossible, but a knowledge of the whole in its essence, without which the parts would seem like an exploded plurality each flying in its course without definite relation to the others. The theory of pluralism started by James and supported by Schiller and Dewey, is calculated not merely to render nugatory the efforts of the higher-self to attain such knowledge but to reduce to inconsequentiality the very life of that self. Pluralism is associated with pragmatism, and it is not impossible that the intellect of the West, already disposed to the knowledge of parts, will gradually reject the idea of the world's spiritual and ethical unity as a will-o-wisp, and discard the ultimate ideal of life as a sheer vanity.

The lower-self is interminably engaged in contesting the value of the higher-self. The war between God and the devil on the plains of heaven, and the vanquishment of the latter, who was hurled with his legions headlong into the sulphurous nebula of hell is an allegorical representation of the conflict between the higher and the lower self. If God had failed to assert Himself, and free heaven from the mischievous brood, Milton's Paradise Lost would have lost all its charm, and Christianity all its meaning. But the devil is deathless and is ever at work. If he cannot reconquer heaven he can cause worry and annoyance by pin-pricks and peculiar tricks. Having failed with the real God the devil is engaged in incessant harassing guerilla warfare with his image in man. The lower-self is the outpost occupied by him, and he is now in close contact with the higher-self of man, only parted by a narrow stream like the Rhine, which now divides the occupied territory from main Germany. The bridges and ferry boats, which connect the two banks constitute a real source of danger. They cannot be destroyed. They cannot be retained. That is the dilemma of the problem of human life. Germany has lost much vitality by the occupation of the Ruhr. The Ruhr cannot live without Germany. The embarrassment causes the Ruhr frantically to declare an autonomous republic, and to seek happiness under French suzerainty, ultimately bound to be converted into a province of the French empire. The grip of France continually increases in tightness, and no wonder the psychology of the Ruhr is imperceptibly changing into a leaning towards French domination. If Germany could assert herself in time the Ruhr might be saved. But Germany is caught in a huge net, and is getting exhausted by her unsuccessful efforts to disentangle herself. The whole history of the occupation of the Ruhr looks like an allegory which places the dilemma of human life in a penumbric light of knowledge. Some people think Germany will never recover herself. Others hold the opposite opinion. Time is working beneath the surface, and the world is waiting for the ultimate reality. The idealistic absolutist thinks the higher-self will successfully assert itself and bring the lower-self under its own control as a co-operative part of life.

Self-sacrifice means the sacrifice of the lower self at the altar of the higher, and this self-sacrifice, as indicating the superior power and diginity of the higher-self, forms the subject of the best poems. The Muses, it will thus be seen, have no aversion to self-assertion, but only to the self-assertion of the mean and the unworthy, actuated by unapproved motives. Nobility and greatness are by cultured minds judged by motives more than by achievements. We associate higher motives with the higher-self, and lower with the lower. Indeed, motive in action is the criterion by which we distinguish between the two selves in man.

What is here called the lower-self is regarded by the Vedanta as belonging to the category of the not-self. It is the totality of the *upadhis*, namely, the vital spirit, the central organ of perception, the five senses, the material organic body to which is sometimes added the objective enrvironment or the objects of the senses. The higher or the true self is attached to these *upadhis* by *avidya* or illusion. The problem for the true self is to free itself from the not-self, which by the power of *avidya* entangles it in a net of unreality, and generates in it a strange self-forgetfulness. What is ordinarily called self-sacrifice is really the sacrifice of the not-self or the unreal, and is not so much a merit as an obligation. Not a mere moral obligation, but an absolute necessity of life, if the self is to be what it really is, namely, a spirit free from the limitations imposed upon it by the chain of *avidya*, one end of which is held by the *upadhis* or the not-self, or the lower-self, In Western philosophy the distinction between the two selves is founded more upon an ethical than a psychological or metaphysical base. The higher self is a creation and continuation of the lower-self in a clarified form, attained by the extrication of the self from all that is impure and sinful, disagreeable and noxious, and in a minor degree also from error. Thought as well as action is to be purified by a slow process of evolution, intellectual, moral and social. Society is a necessity—an absolute necessity of life. It is not merely the instrument of self-purification, but the reality in which all individual achievements in thought and action find their final fruition. In the perfection of society lies the salvation of mankind, and the salvation of the individual lies in the quota contributed by him towards that perfection.

Western civilization is founded upon the self-assertion of the lower-self, and its continued success has gradually thrown the interests, nay, the very existence of the higher-self into the shade. From the discovery of the new world at the close of the fifteenth century down to 1914 A.D. the history of Western civilization is the history of the war between the higher and the lowerself of man. The latter has truimphed almost uniformly and completely, though there are facts tending to prove the contrary, such as the slave emancipation, the partial emancipation of women, the introduction of democratic principles in the governance of the nations. But it will be seen that it was not self-sacrifice, but enlightened self-interest that supplied the motive force in these generous achievements. Slavery was becoming uneconomical and wasteful; family life was becoming intolerable, aristocratic interests, harassed and worried by the encroachments of the bourgeoisie, led to the enfranchisement of the masses.

The achievements of science prove the triumph of Reason. But it may be perceived that it is not the pure Reason but the practical one that has played the more important part, and it is this last that by abject submission to the lower emotions, especially the six emphasised in Hindu philosophy, namely, lust, anger, avarice, delusion, mania and jealousy, has laid pure science at the feet of applied science, has laid the majority at the feet of the minority of mankind, and of the nation, in a deeper sense than ever before by giving unprecedented scope to pugnacious gregariousness, to exploitation, colonization, economic occupation, racial expansion, extermination, expropriation, civilization and dehumanization in the various parts of the world of humanity. It has united mankind by mechanical appliances, while it has disunited them by clever ethical and social camouflage. It has created steamships, railways, telegraphs and aeroplanes; it has also created the science of ethnology. It has turned the entire world into a stormy sea. There is no peace. Every part of it is ruffled. Cross currents and counter currents move below the surface and blow above it. Ships are sent to bring in immigrants with large offers of remuneration and comforts, and then, when the latter claim the rights of humanity, they are either segregated or repatriated to enable them to escape worse miseries and humiliations.

Mere contact or association is not friendship or an indication of brotherhood. The battlefield is the most concentrated meeting ground, but few go there to part in safety. The higher emotions get no play in crowded meetings. The telegraph and the post, the steamships and the railways, the arteries and nerves of Western civilization are things, which mankind, as a whole, has more reason to regret than to be proud of. The exploited half have already come to realize the pernicious inwardness of these inventions. The exploiting half will realize it soon, but not until it is too late. The destructive contact which these gloriously infernal machines have brought about among mankind is comparable to the one, which, in the loving hug of Dhritarastra gave a drastic orientation to the iron-image of Bhima. Mahatma Gandhi showed true poetic and prophetic inspiration when he called this civilization 'satanic.' He has been stigmatized as audacious (or out-dacious, as the Beadle, in Oliver Twist, pronounced it). But the civilized people, if they have eyes to see, must already perceive the pernicious inwardness of the civilization chiselled by applied science and designed by practical reason at the dictates of the self-assertive emotions. It is not the instrument or conveyance by which men are carried to the meeting hall, but the inward motive that suggested the convening of it, that determines the quality and issue of the meeting. The self-assertion of the strong against the weak produces dazzling results like a pyrotechnic display. But the self-assertion gradually grows reckless and disdains to calculate the strength of the opponent. It is then that this cosmic principle of life developed by the misappropriation of ethical camouflage comes to grief by its own desperate audacity and deafness to the admonitions of Conscience and the premonitions of Reason. The great war is an encyclopœdia of facts and events by which the value of Western civilization can be tested. But the Western people never believe any truth until it is fully verified; and complete verification is looked for in another war for which they are preparing themselves. In Christ's unforgettable language they are already waging this war in their hearts. Western civilization is a naked evening light in the open, which attract people eventually to burn them to ashes. The author of "The Salvaging of Civilization" remarks that unless Western civilization can eliminate or control its pugnacity no other prospect seems to open to it but decadence, at least to such level of barbarism as to lose and forget again all the industrial and scientific achievements of the age. Doubts may still exist regarding the ultimate future of the civilization, but its debasing and destructive effect upon poetic inspiration is already clearly visible.

The lower-self is not a simple unity or personality. It has created within itself a vast number of selves by a process of gemmation. Among these created selves the collective or group-self may be regarded as the most dangerous to the individuality or the higher-self of man. The collective self has many forms, such as, the national-self, the professional-self, the class-self, the regional-self, the sect-self, etc. These selves are at war with one another within the microcosm, each trying to be its dictator, while the collective self of one group of men is perpetually fighting with the collective self of another group. Capital and labour form two such groups. At the present moment the war of capital and labour is undermining the economic structure of Western civilization, which shows symptoms of a simultaneous suicidal and self-aggrandising mania, aggravated by a confusion of altruistic and egoistic, humanitarian and inhuman, cosmopolitan and nationalistic sentiments. The devil never lives by himself. He draws a legion round him. That is his nature. Professor James says somewhere in his "Pragmatism," the devil is supposed to be a gentleman. The devil is dangerous in his unqualified character, but when he appears as a gentleman he becomes a doubly dangerous reality. By his traits as a gentleman, I mean, by his deceitfulness and camouflage, the devil has effectually turned out the Muses, who loathe nothing more than masquerading unreality. There is no dearth of poems in the Western languages but there is no poetic inspiration in them ; most of them glorify the achievements of self-assertion, clothed in camouflage. The priggish Kipling tribe, however detested by the Muses, is immortal.

The combination of orderly chaos and chaotic order which Western civilization has spread over the world is a marvellous structure of dazzling brilliancy and blinding darkness. The self of man, endowed with a plurality of faculties by nature has been turned into a splendid, gilded pandemonium, which testifies to the artistic and architectural proficiency of that civilization. But the Muses who have an intuitive hatred of camouflage and confusion spontaneously keep aloof. In short, the achievements of Western civilization, which lives and develops by self-assertion, and which, while pretending to derive its vitality and vigour from Christian love, tramples upon the Sermon on the mount, not spasmodically, but systematically, working towards a collective ideal in complete disharmony with the personal ideal of the human soul, and pursuing it by a method of self-assertion diametrically opposed to that of self-renunciation preached by Christ, must appeal to the Muses as a stimulant the discriminative response to which is flight. Neither Bismarck nor Kaiser Wilhelm will ever find a true poet to sing his praise. Neither Napoleon nor Nelson has created an epic though more than a century has passed since they dazzled the world by their achievements. Grabbing and grinding can create wealth and national prosperity; they cannot invoke the Muses. Neither the six emotions nor practical reason, manifested in science and diplomacy, can enthuse the Muses. Western civilization has conquered the world, a tremendous feat in the history of mankind; but has anybody ever had the imaginative temerity of writing an epic on this grand achievement? No, the subject is not merely complex, but consists of elements so unpoetic in character, that the Muses tremble in their places and take to flight to escape outrage and desecration when any historian, with a reputation for the poetic art, thinks of placing their thoughts concerning the panoramic event in rhythmic literature.

While the Muses loathe the self-assertion of the lower-self, they have nothing but admiration for the self-assertion of the higher-self. The latter asserts itself in the cause of truth and reality, of moral beauty and human unity, of personal freedom and feminine chastity, of sincerity and simplicity. The lower-self asserts itself to divide mankind in reality while ostensibly uniting them, to enslave the majority, to seek and secure power, privilege, comforts and luxuries, ease and repose for the minority, to establish differences of rights for the sexes, for the races, for the classes, to dehumanize ninety per cent. of the species in order ostensibly to super-humanize, but in truth, to brutify the remaining ten per cent. in a sublimated form. The lower-self by asserting itself, *i.e.*, by enslaving Reason to its dictates, and systematically compelling it to use its creative energies for the subversion of the ethical process and for the corruption of its high ideals has been slowly reviving, in the dazzling light of the gorgeous periphery of Western civilization, the anthropological ideals of cosmic life under alluring conditions. Revivalism of any sort is denounced as a call to primitive barbarism; persistence in the present course of the world's life is leading to civilized barbarism, which from the spiritual point of view is worse than the primitive type. It is loathed by all right-minded people. It is loathed by the Muses.

Huxley lamented the failure of the ethical process in Western civilization, and predicted a world-wide insurrection like the one which has established Soviet government in Russia. Huxley's prophecy has been partly fulfilled sooner than he expected. The complete fulfilment is now anticipated by the best minds of the West. Until the fresh experiment comes in full force with a genuine sincerity of purpose the Muses cannot be expected to return from their hiding place to enliven and rejoice humanity. The slowly advancing triumph of the higher-self will again put the Muses in working order, and Homer and Virgil, Valmiki and Vyas will again enthuse mankind to new efforts for good, will again set the Sisyphean ball rolling up, perchance, to slide down again.

We must bear in mind, that in the ethical advance of humanity poems once admired for their beneficial influence become anachronistic, and instead of furthering progress, retards it. New poems suitable to each new stage of progress are necessary to maintain it and to raise it further. The truths of one age become unreal for the next; and the beauties of one age, ugly for the latter; useful poems of one age become unserviceable in the next, and pernicious in the still further next. Ancient poems not only hamper progress but become positively noxious and accelerates the process of retrogression, when the Sisyphean ball has begun to slide downwards. Poetry must advance with the times, and new poems must continually replace the old. Every new epoch requires a new epic, and the failure of the latter means moral retrogression. The modern epoch has no epic for good and sufficient reason. What epics have been written have followed the ethics of ancient epics with new orientation of a hurtful nature, and have served to accelerate retrogression.

Epics should stop as soon as retrogression has begun. The failure of epics in the present age may be traced to this fact, for epics written under such circumstances can only accelerate retrogression. Kipling's priggish poems have had their due share in the decadence of Western civilization which has admittedly begun, and to prevent which statesmen are hastily patching up treaties and breaking them when necessary.

The term discord has a moral as well as an æsthetic bearing. Æsthetic discord is commonly felt as an acoustic ugliness. In ordinary parlance we call it noise. Noise is the opposite of music. Music is the gift of the Muses, and constitutes a fundamental quality of poetry. It is thus that the Muses preside over poetry. It might be a temerous assertion to make, but it is none-the-less true that in recent years poesy has developed more in metrical elaboration and diction than in rhythm, thought and imagination; and if I do not make any quotations, it is only because I desire to avoid giving knocks and shocks to predispositions invigorated by age, and to keep above polemics. The relation between moral discord and acoustic discord is not only precisely known, but it would seem that they shake the same or similar nerves in our constitution and they affect the same part of the brain. Now self-assertion and moral discord are all but inseparable.

Indeed self-assertion loses its significance and practical value if it leaves the rest of the world undisturbed, that is to say, if it produces no moral discord. I think the connection between the principle of self-assertion and the decline of poesy in Western civilization is amply established. That civilization is now doing its utmost not to trace moral discord to its source, but to contrive plans and schemes to sweeten its inevitably poisonous fruits. The growing development of the national-self in the Western mind with the progress of nationalism or pugnacious patriotism has generated a corresponding acceleration in the decline of genuine poetry. If the lower-self in its primary condition has any doubts regarding the calls of self-assertion and self-renunciation it has none when it has developed the collective self. The national-self knows no self-renunciation; it is born in self-assertion for the purpose of self-assertion; and if it hesitates to assert itself, there is the beginning of the end; it has grown old and senile, and its death is only a question of time. National decay means decline in national self-assertion. So long therefore as national self-assertion remains strong the Muses keep aloof. When national self-assertion declines by reason of weakness the Muses run further away. It is when national self-assertion, by a change of heart, makes room for self-sacrifice that the Muses turn back. It will be long before true poetry is revived in Western civilization. What is called the cultured mind in that civilization has a long struggle before it to enable it to claim the favours of the Muses. At present it is only mellowed parasitism, a slowly growing intellectual distaste for the fruits of assertion; when this distaste becomes sincerely emotional and widespread, the Muses will begin to bless it.

K. C. Sen

INDIA'S PLEA TO HER CHILDREN

Like Sannyasi the Himalayas stand
A brotherhood, all wrinkled, worn and grey,
With snow-crowned brows for e'er upraised in prayer—
Watching the changing centuries pass by,
Guarding the sacred land of India
Blessed by the gods who sent the Ganges down
A pledge of their eternal love and care.
When Egypt lay still cradled by the Nile,
Fair India, with full o'er-flowing breast,
Nourished half the world with her mystic lore.
Here sung the bards who wrote the Vedic hymns,
Here lived sweet Krishna, of the lotus feet,
Here did Arjuna learn from Him the truth—
And Gautama was born, with heart of love,
To teach compassion to the sinful earth.
Here dwelt great Akbar, broad of heart and mind,
Who dreamed of brotherhood and justice true
Here came the royal Moghul Emperors,
Who ruled in state, a wonder to the world ;
And here that super-woman, Nur Mahal,
First saw the light, and wrought her noble deeds,
And wrote her name in Beauty thro' Kashmir.
Splendid, rich and fair, young India stood
Bejewelled, and enwrapped in robes of gold ;
But turns for e'er the wheel of destiny—
And from the light down into darkest night
Relentless Fate swept the dread, Karmic wheel :
Then Egypt fell from glory to decay—

And Rome became the mistress of the world,
And Athens, like a goddess fair, lay by
Ægean Sea, crowned with her violets.
Turned, turned the wheel for them to shadows deep :
Jerusalem, the Holy City, fell
As Babylon into decay and death ;
For nought is permanent save constant change,
And Time lays low the kingdom of the earth.

* * *

And now, see there she stands—'tis India :
With shrunken breasts, and withered, out-held hands.
Clad in a *sari*, tarnished gold and red,
Its folds draped round her white, and down-bent head—
With eyes aglow with youth's eternal fire,
Born of a soul aflame with fierce desire.
Her voice rings out in pleading, anguished tones,
And all the earth seemed rent with trembling moans,
Of those whose dust has mingled to uphold
The gul-morh trees, with blossoms red and gold.
"My children, oh, my children gone astray,"—
Cries the brown mother, old and bent and grey,
"Oh, hear ye not my voice ? Art deaf and blind—
That ye no more the Path of Truth can find ?
Lost, lost are ye, by superstitions led,
On fruits that turn to ashes ye are fed.
Lost, lost in ignorance, as black as sin,
Lost in your lusts, nor wish the light to win.
Amuck ye run, with false gods leading on,
Ye cannot see the New Day's rosy dawn.
How long will God have patience to endure
Your wantonness, and ways dark and obscure ?
Break down the castes and creeds that lead astray ;
Bring back the glory of my vanished day.

All, all are One; cling to the endless chain
That from God's heart will guide you back again.
Know ye this truth—where human feet e'er trod,
By what-so name—there is One Only God:
All things are One; by Brotherhood alone
Will vice, and sin and grief be over-thrown.
The sweeper, rigid Karmic laws will bring
As recompense, to be one day a king.
There is no caste to Him who made us all,
And only by our deeds we stand or fall
So are we made the arbiters of Fate—
'Tis we who curse or bless and compensate.
My children, oh, my children, heed my cry—
Rise from the earth and lift your eyes on high.
Let myths sink down to perish in the dust,
Where all false creeds and dogmas ever must.
'Tis love alone can save and bless mankind,
In Unity alone sweet peace you'll find.
Then like the Phœnix, by my soul's desire,
Once more I'll spring transformed from out the fire
Of grief and sin, of bloodshed and fierce pain.
To be renewed, *Great India again.*"

* * *

Like Sannyasi, wrinkled, old and grey,
The Himalayas stand, awaiting that Great Day
Stand ye like them, upright, enduring be,
And thus you'll win the right to be set free,
To rise above all Time, and Space and Wrong,
And join with angels in triumphant song.

TERÉSA STRICKLAND

RAJA RAM MOHAN RAY

India is pre-eminently a wonderland and its wonders are not confined to the world of matter, but also extend to the world of mind. In fact, it stands unique, no country in the world equalling or even approaching it in that respect. But great as its material wealth is, it grows dim before its intellectual treasures which are simply splendid. India is the earliest home of learning, civilisation and religion. When most of the countries of Europe were still in a state of savagery, India had risen to the very height of progress. The Rig-Veda, which for the first time taught the worship of the one true God, is the most ancient book in the world. As for the learning of the Aryan Rishis of old, it is proverbial and certainly lacks a parallel. Indeed, no country on the face of the earth has produced so many sages and savants in all the various departments of knowledge, and, verily, has India had the reputation of being the favourite resort of the great goddess, Minerva. In this land of wonders—the cynosure of all eyes—there have arisen from time to time men who have cut a remarkable figure in the world's history, and who by their teachings and practices have borne unmistakable testimony to their having been commissioned by the Most On High to fulfil a divine mission. Their appearance in the world was quite opportune and plainly showed the finger of God moving silently in the matter. In the pre-Mahabharat period the true Vedic faith was in full vigour and glory; but when Tantrism followed, as it did not long after, the light of pure immaculate faith began to be dimmed by its overshadowing influence; and when after a lapse of time the darkness became thicker and more impenetrable, Buddha appeared on the outskirts of Nepal and by preaching the gospel of the universal love cut at the root of materialistic Tantrikism, casting unfortunately at the same time in the cold shade of neglect the real Vedic faith as taught by the old Aryan Rishis.

Again, in course of time when Buddhism became decadent and the belief in one true God was placed quite at a discount, Sankaracharya appeared in Southern India.

But before a few centuries elapsed, pure Vedic faith which had been restored to its pristine purity and vigour by that reputed *avatár* of God, whose name he so fittingly bore, again, suffered a severe reverse and had to give way to Pauranic Hinduism, which by this time had made headway, especially in Bengal. Gross Tantric rites which had their counterpart in the old Bacchanal orgies, had also come to be practised by a goodly number of Hindus. When true Hinduism was being overborne by all absorbing Brahmanical selfishness on the one hand, and by gross Tantric mysticism on the other, Chaitanya arose in Navadvipa who by preaching *Prem* (Divine Love) as the readiest means of salvation (*Mukti*), founded what is popularly known as Vaishnavism, which consists in the worship of Vishnu as represented in the person of Krishna. Chaitanya ignored caste and invited all and sundry to come and accept the faith preached by him. The land rang with the love songs of Radha and Krishna—the two in one and one in two—and *Prem* became the motto and watchword of his followers. People came trooping to him and swelled the ranks of his adherents to an extent which was not expected by his most sanguine disciples. The *Saktas* were alarmed, and they tried their best to put down the new religion, but with all their efforts they could not arrest the march of events which went on moving at a rapid rate. But as generally happens, before a century or two elapsed, pure Vaishnavism as taught by its devout founder, suffered a change and it was a change decidedly for the worse. Idolatry with its thousand and one superstitions and prejudices became rampant in Bengal and gods and goddesses whose number defied the attempt of the ordinary arithmetician to count, almost monopolised the temples and towers. Only a handful of Hindus stuck to Tantrikism and continued to practise rites and ceremonies which, apart from their so-called mystic character, were not at all in consonance with Hinduism as understood by the wise and the devout; and to add to this very disturbed state of things, young Bengal whose minds were inoculated with Western ideas raised the standard of heterodoxy and created quite a tumult in society. When Bengal had lost its peace and was being torn by discord and dissension both in the social and the religious world, and the people were anxiously looking for a teacher and guide, the subject of this short memoir appeared, who by restoring the worship of the one true God as taught in the Vedas and by condemning idolatry and some other objectionable practices in the strongest terms, laid the foundation of that Theistical form of worship which is popularly known as Brahmoism. This new faith, if it should be so called, inculcates the adoration of *one Brahman without a second*, Formless, Invisible, Immutable, Eternal. The orthodox Hindu community who looked upon reforms of any kind with horror and dismay, rose strongly against him and threw all sorts of obstacles in his way. But nothing daunted, Ram Mohan Ray steadily careered onward, and, at last, succeeded in achieving considerable success in his laudable endeavour. He had to bear a very heavy burden of hardships and difficulties, but those very deterrents did him immense good by making him all the more confirmed and strengthened in his views and convictions. He with a small following led a campaign against idolatry with wonderful zeal and energy, and by battering again and again at the strong walls of its deeply-laid citadel, almost succeeded in taking it.

Indeed, Ram Mohan Ray was a host in himself and his name was legion. He was, as Professor Max Müller has described him, a prince among men—the first to go to the fight and the last to retire from it. But the great man's sphere of activities was not confined to religion; it had a much wider range and took in sociology, politics and, last though not least, education. To do good to mankind in every conceivable way was the guiding principle of his life, and he firmly adhered to it through good report and evil report. In fact, he was a marvel of humanity, the like of whom is not to be found in every country or in every age. His was a striking personality, and happy, thrice happy, must be the land that has produced one like him. Ram Mohan Ray is not only the pride of his own country, he is, also, the pride of the whole human race. He was an intellectual giant and performed doughty deeds in the moral and intellectual world. His talents were not only varied and brilliant but of an eminently useful character. He was the very reverse of a visionary or a theorist, and was always in the habit of looking at things in their practical bearing; and if, perchance, he had to maintain a theory, he took care to maintain it on practical grounds. Like Xenophon of old, he seems to be a typical instance of a "sound mind in a sound body." He possessed solid judgment, a cultured intellect, a noble and a disciplined heart. Both morally and intellectually he would rank very high among men. Even his bitterest enemy could not deny that he was the first and foremost Hindu of his time. No one was more strongly impressed with the conviction that to do good to humanity was among the chiefest of worldly duties and privileges. The solemn text, "of him to whom much is given much will be required," seems to have been ever present to his mind; and he always tried his best to act up to it; and though his labours and acts of goodness were comparatively great, still he thought that in that respect he had not been able to do full justice to the superiority which he possessed over his fellowmen. The exercise of benevolence was associated by him with the greatest pleasure. To relieve the sufferings and to add to the happiness of others, was considered by him as a source of the purest enjoyment.

He had made a mint of money while in Government service, and if, as was said, there was some unfairness in its acquisition, the use to which it was put made sufficient amends for it. A large portion of it was spent in the service of humanity. Verily Ram Mohan Ray was one of the greatest philanthropists and reformers, who has been the liberator of his race from the thraldom and tyranny of bigotry and superstition.

Ram Mohan Ray did an immense service to his motherland. But he was not a mere patriot, he was also a cosmopolitan; and he conducted himself so very wisely and cleverly that his cosmopolitan feelings were never made to clash with his patriotism. His sympathies were of a catholic nature and took in the whole human race. He was Nature's gentleman and felt for all her creatures alike. Even distant Europe and more distant America engaged his attention and enlisted his sympathy.

Ram Mohan Ray was, also, remarkable for firm decision of character. He was anything but impulsive, and never put his hand to the plough without due deliberation and consideration. His great maxim was that no important measure could be improvised; every detail must be thought out before it could be taken up in right earnest. But once his mind had been definitely made up, his will was adamant, and, except for new light and information, to change his resolution, once taken, was impossible. No man could be more thorough. Combined with an extraordinary capacity for work were breadth of view, bold in the extreme, and admirable patience. His strength was that of a man who by sheer force of character and intellect had mastered himself and his task. Whatever he achieved, he must, indeed, be said to have richly deserved.

Ram Mohan Ray was pre-eminently a man of action and possessed to a degree that constancy of mind which is essential to such a character. Weariness of body seemed unknown to him. But even more important was his mental endurance. He possessed a singularly sane and well-balanced mind, in which was found commonsense in an uncommon measure. He was firm in his judgment but open to conviction; masterful yet without the fatal blemish of vanity or ambition; profoundly instructed, yet wholly free from the taint of the doctrinaire. That last infirmity of noble souls—fame—he did not much care for. He was absolutely selfless and was always ready to make any amount of sacrifice for a noble cause. In fact, he was a marvel of a man and it behoves us all to try to follow his noble example.

As a debater Ram Mohan Ray stood almost unrivalled. In him was united a most logical head with a most fertile imagination which gave him an extraordinary advantage in arguing. No Christian missionary or Hindu *pundit* could bear the brunt of his attack; and the result was that he always came out victorious. But though success almost always attended his steps, he was never found to indulge in abuse or ridicule. He was the very reverse of a scoffer or a jester, and invariably conducted controversies with admirable moderation and firmness. He had great control, both over his tongue and his temper, and never used any angry word or made any unseemly gesture. Indeed, it was really a pleasure to argue with him and in case of defeat one could bear it without much uneasiness. Ram Mohan Ray was a many-sided man and distinguished himself in several walks of life. He figured high as a politician, educationist, author, linguist and social reformer. Though not a lawyer by profession Ram Mohan knew enough of law and was quite competent to pass opinion on any legal subject that might be placed before him more especially on matters relating to the Revenue System of Bengal of which he was a thorough master. But high as these qualifications are they grow dim before the lustre of his character as a champion of religion, and it goes without saying that he would be best remembered as the demolisher of cumbrous idolatry and restorer of the pure Theistic faith as inculcated in the Vedas. In private life, too, Ram Mohan Ray was great. He was an indulgent father, a loving husband, a kind master and a benevolent man. He was liberal almost to a fault, and yet his left hand did not know what his right hand gave. There was nothing like ostentation or even show in his charity, as his object was to do good to mankind and not to gain a name. It was all done in secret without fuss or parade. But though rich enough he used to spend only a little on his own person. He lived on simple food and generally wore plain dress. In a word "plain living and high thinking" was the guiding principle of his life. The greatest good of the greatest number was an ideal which he always kept in view. We cannot better conclude this short and hurried sketch of the good and great man than by reproducing the eloquent inscription which graces his tomb at Bristol. The obituary notice runs thus: "Beneath this stone rest the remains of Raja Ram Mohan Ray. A conscientious and steadfast believer in the unity of the Godhead, he consecrated his life with entire devotion to the worship of the Divine Spirit alone. To great natural talents he united a thorough mastery of many languages and early distinguished himself as one of the greatest scholars of the day. His unwearied labours to promote the social, moral and physical condition of the people of India, his earnest endeavours to suppress idolatry and *sati* rite, and his constant zealous advocacy of whatever tended to advance the glory of God and the welfare of man live in the grateful remembrance of his countrymen. This tablet records the sorrow and pride with which his memory is cherished by his descendants."

The spot where stands the funeral temple of the Raja is to be regarded, as one of his countrymen has beautifully said, "a sacred place for Hindu pilgrimage," and as a matter of fact, it is almost invariably visited by Hindu sojourners in blessed Albion, the land of the setting sun.

SHUMBHOO CHUNDER DEY

LETTERS OF SIR ASUTOSH

[We note with pleasure that an endeavour is being made by the *Bangabani* to collect and publish Sir Asutosh's letters. Some of the letters which he wrote when quite a young man to his father and the letter (in Bengali) which he wrote to his second son, Syama Prasad Mookerjee, shortly before his death, are given below.

The charm of the early letters, written when Sir Asutosh was 18 years old, lies in the writer's naturalness and simplicity. We see how a loving father sends his son, who had just recovered from illness, to Barrackpore, only fifteen miles from Calcutta, on the banks of the Ganges, for a rest and change. We see how the dutiful son keeps his father informed, by daily letters, of the progress made in his health and studies. We cannot fail to discern in the young writer distinct signs of the growth of a critical mind, which, in future years, seldom accepted things on trust and begrudged no labour to arrive at definite conclusions. We notice the solicitude of an elder for the progress in studies made by his younger brother and we are struck by the simplicity of the lad's student life, his simple fare of bread and milk, and, above all, by his eminently humane feeling that such a life caused others so little trouble!

The letter to his son, being the last letter in Bengali written by Sir Asutosh, is now full of pathos as he, who wrote it in the full vigour of his noble man-hood—the thought of the welfare of his beloved University upper most in his mind then as ever—knew not that his voice would so soon be stilled for ever by death.] *Ed. C. R.*

(1)

BARRACKPORE, THE PARK.
1st June, 1882.
3-45 P.M.

MY DEAR FATHER,

I am glad to say that I have arrived here all safe. Satya[1] got down at Belghurria, whence he went to his maternal uncle's. Day before yesterday, when I came here, I was rather uneasy, owing to the jerking of the train; but to-day I am very well at ease, and do not feel at all the slightest fatigue.

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[1] Afterwards a renowned Advocate of Allahabad, the late Mr. Satya Chandra Mookerjee.

Hari Babu[1] is making arrangements for my stay here; he is rather anxious, but I have told him that he need not at all be busy or put himself into unnecessary trouble; no formality or ceremony is required for me. I have got a separate room of my own, chair and table, so there is little or no difference between here and home. Arrangement has been made for two breads daily. I hope I shall spend the day, very comfortably here.

It is perceptibly cooler here than at Calcutta and the position of the house is of great advantage in this respect. It is facing the south; and as the wind passes over the Ganges before reaching us, it is much cooled down. The people say that to-day is rather cloudy and so sultry. But as for myself, it is cool enough, and I think that the climate would be very agreeable when it cools down as much as the people here wish it to be. My love to brother[2] and Hemlata.[3] Hoping this will find you all well,

I remain,
Yours affly.
ASU.

(2)

BARRACKPORE, THE PARK.
2nd June, 1882.
3 P.M.

MY DEAR FATHER,

I am really at a loss what to write: I can get no subject which to describe and thus fill my paper. However, I shall give you a true picture of how I have spent the time since I wrote to you last. The afternoon was very cloudy yesterday; I set to walk in the evening, when a shower of rain came, and my clothes slightly got wet. We had a tolerably heavy shower, and the night was very cool; the weather was very pleasant and the moonshine was really splendid. I got up this morning at 4 A.M. and read up to 5 A.M. Then I went to bathe; the waterpipe is rather a little too distant, being nearly half a mile and back. It is, therefore, necessary to bathe early in the morning, the heat getting more and more intense as the sun rises higher. I then read up to 10 A.M. when I took my meal.

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[1] Maternal uncle of Mr. Satya Chandra Mookerjee.

[2] Younger brother of Sir Asutosh—the late Mr. Hemanta Kumar Mookerjee. He died soon after he passed his B. A. Examination in 1887.

[3] Sister of Sir Asutosh. She was afterwards married to Mr. Satis Chandra Ray, M.A., who is now a Lecturer in the Calcutta University. She died in 1901.

The most remarkable thing is the death-like silence of the place, no rolling of drums, no noise of tramcars, no drowning hum of a busy commercial populace. I see that the attention is very easily concentrated, and I can do more work here in two hours than I could do there in four. The monotonous silence is only now and then broken by Railway whistles. Satya has not yet returned from his maternal uncle's. I have been reading Burke from Goodrich and I hope to get a good way into it, before I am back home. Hoping this will find you all well,

I remain,
Your affectionate son,
ASU.

(3)

BARRACKPORE, THE PARK,
3rd June, 1882.

MY DEAR FATHER,

This morning's post brought me your affectionate letter, written last afternoon. You will be glad to hear that I have no complaint whatsoever. Besides, Hari Babu has arranged to supply me with fresh milk both in the morning and in the afternoon just as I used to have at home. I take literally nothing but bread and milk, and now and then a slice or two of mangoe; all this is more than enough for me. I now see what great advantage there is in simplifying our meals; it keeps up our health and puts others to little trouble.

Yesterday, we had no rains, but the weather was not very hot. This noon is rather sultry, there being hardly a breath of wind. But clouds are already gathering up and we hope to have a good shower by the evening.

You say that the engine causes more noise than before. I remember that the Directors of the Company announced that there would be no noise. I wondered only how that could be. The noise can only be effectually removed by air engines; but even then the sound caused by the friction of the rails cannot be evaded.

Satya has not returned as yet and I do not expect that he will be back before next morning. I pressed him hard to read Trigonometry with me, and this had, perhaps, scared him away. As for myself, I have not been reading very hard, indeed, it is nothing more than indifferent. I am learning very little that is new; I only take care to see that I keep up what I have already amassed.

Last evening I walked some five miles at least. I saw the Government House and the Barrackpore School. This latter is a very fine-looking building of Gothic architecture rather small for a school house; there is a very attractive grandeur in its bald simplicity.

When I came here, I thought that the monotony of the place would be too much for me. But I find here one of my fellow students. Satish,[1] who stood sixth in the F. A. Examination from the General Assembly's Institution and who reads with us now, is living here. He sees me in the afternoon and I walk with him in the Park. He is a very good-natured fellow, a pleasant companion. Hoping this will find you all well,

I remain,
Your affectionate son,
Asu.

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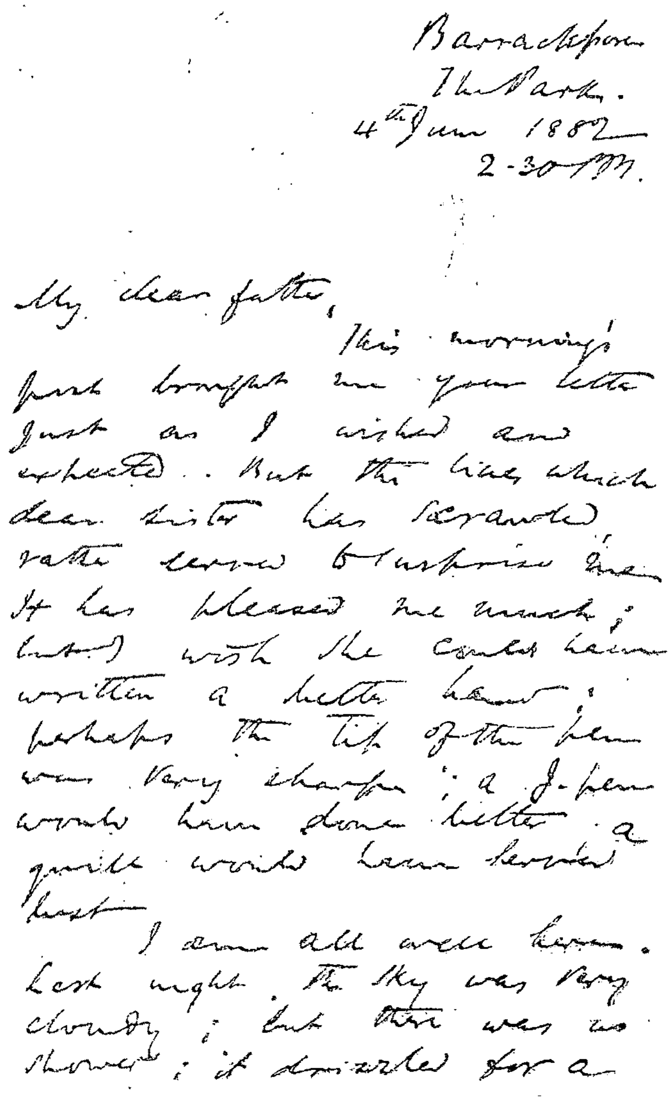
[1] Mr. Satis Chandra Mookerjee of the *Dawn Society*.

(4)

FACSIMILE OF THE WRITING OF SIR ASUTOSH.

At the Age of 18.

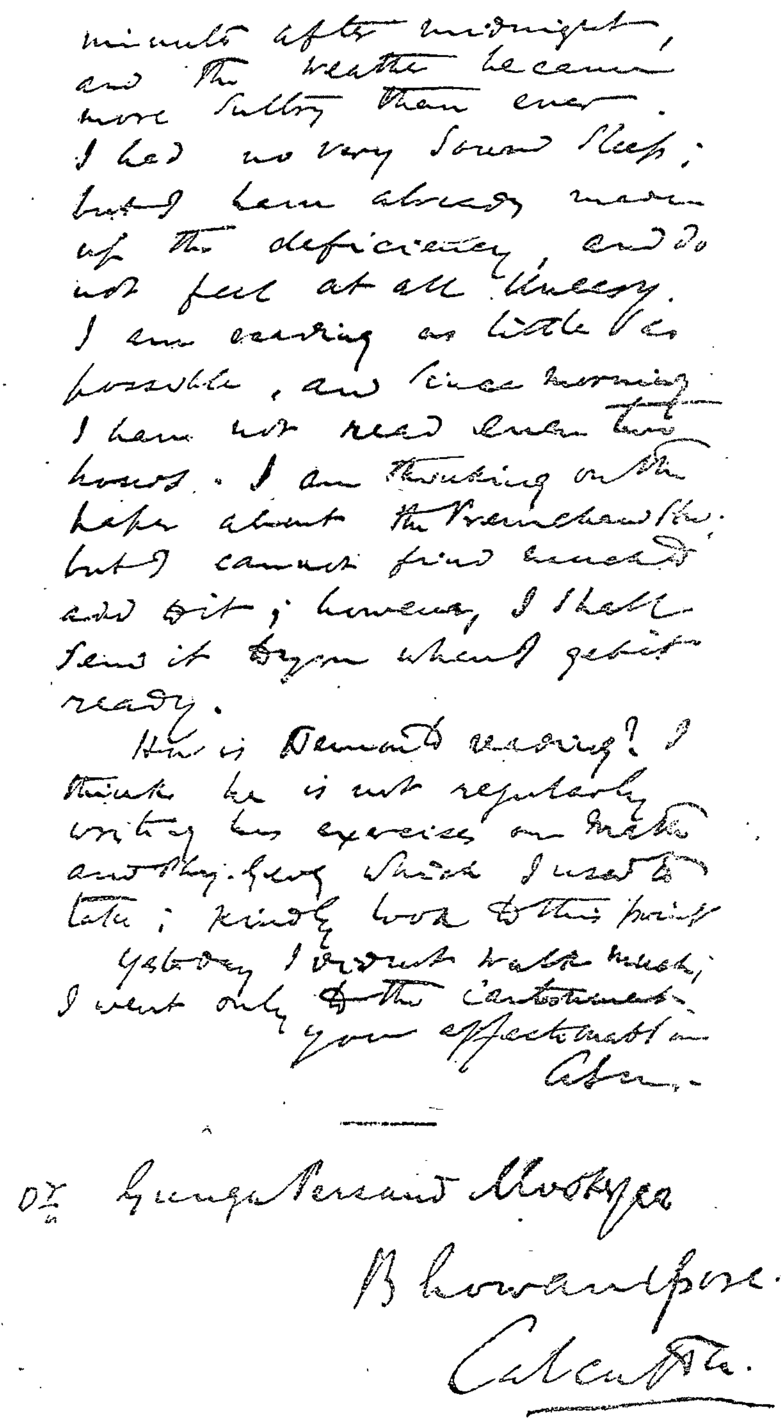


Barrackpore
The Park.
4th June 1882
2-30 P.M.

My dear father,

This morning's post brought me your letter just as I wished and expected. But the lines which dear sister has scrawled rather seem to surprise me. It has pleased me much; but I wish she could have written a better hand; perhaps the tip of the pen was very sharp; a J-pen would have done better; a quill would have served best.

I am all well here. Last night, the sky was very cloudy; but there was no shower; it drizzled for a



minutes after midnight, and the weather became more sultry than ever. I had no very sound sleep; but I have already made up the deficiency, and do not feel at all uneasy. I am exerting as little as possible, and since morning I have not read even two hours. I am thinking on the paper about the Premchand [illegible] but I cannot find much to add to it; however, I shall send it to you when I get it ready.

How is Hemant's reading? I think he is not regularly writing his exercises on Maths and Phy. Geog. which I used to take; kindly look to this point.

Yesterday I did not walk much; I went only to the cantonments.

your affectionate son
Ashu.

Dr. Gunga Persaud Mookerjee
Bhowanipore.
Calcutta.

(5)

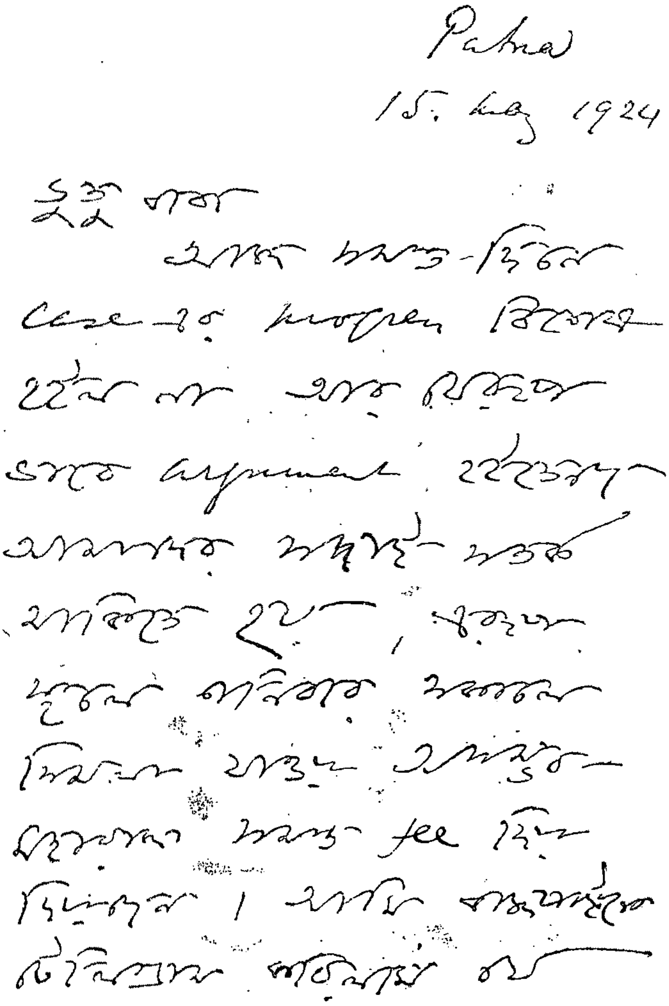
BARRACKPORE, THE PARK.
5th June, 1882.
3-30 P.M.

MY DEAR FATHER,

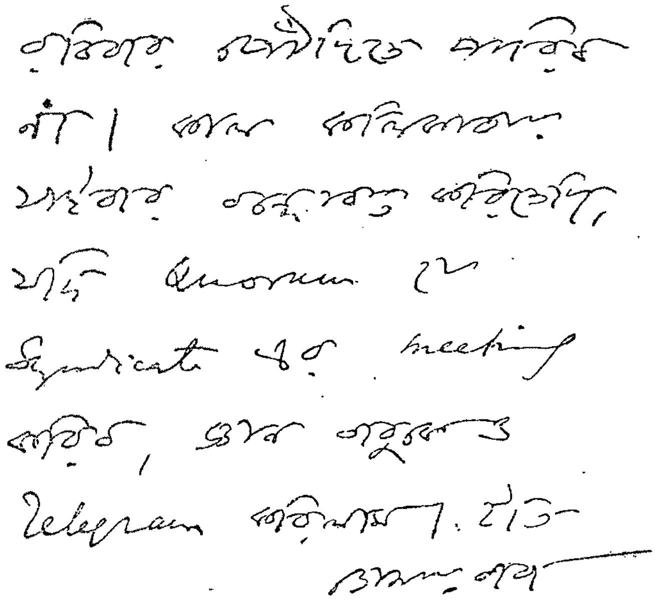
I have not as yet heard from you. Yesterday was Sunday and I am afraid you posted your letter too late yesterday. I hope to receive it by the afternoon delivery. Last night was rather sultry and peculiarly hot; and though my sleep was somewhat disturbed it was far better than could have been expected. The wind is now blowing very high, and the sky is all covered with clouds; and we expect a very good shower within the next half an hour. Yesterday I walked to the Cantonment and some of the adjoining villages. There is nothing peculiar about them, except that the unwonted silence of the places only reminds of fabulous deserted cities. Hoping this will find you all well,

I remain,
Your affectionate son,
ASU.

The last Letter written by Sir Asutosh in Bengali.



Patna
15 May 1924



শনিবার [illegible] পারিব
না। তবে সোমবার
মঙ্গলবার অবশ্য [illegible],
যদি Quorum হয়
Syndicate এর meeting
ডাকিব, এবং আমাকেও
Telegram করিবেন। ইতি

INDIAN BYWAYS: Literary and Pictorial

India is so enormous and so varied that it cannot fail to present some kind of appeal to everyone,—historian, ethnographer, scientist, sportsman, etc. The artistically inclined collector has an opportunity of finding books of coloured prints or engravings by European artists. Of these the former are becoming increasingly difficult to acquire, but there is still an abundance of the latter class of work.

The close of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth witnessed a growth of the spirit of adventure and a love of foreign travel. With it developed a wider and an intenser interest in India, and a desire for illustrated books. Edward Orme, publisher to His Majesty and the Prince Regent, was one of the earliest to supply the demand, with his *Twelve Views of Places in the Kingdom of Mysore by R. H. Colebrooke*, containing twelve coloured aquatints by J. W. Edy, the first edition of which seems to have been *produced in 1794; the second appeared in 1805.*[1]

Of Orme's other publications, with coloured illustrations, relating to India, may be mentioned his *Twenty-four Views in Hindostan, drawn by W. Orme from the Original Pictures, Painted by Mr. Daniell and Colonel Ward* (1803); *Picturesque Scenery in the Kingdom of Mysore,* containing forty coloured aquatints after James Hunter (1805); *Two hundred and Fifty Drawings descriptive of the manners, customs and dresses of the Hindoos*, by B. Solvyns (Calcutta, 1799).

The work of the Daniells is known to a wider circle. Thomas Daniell and his nephew William set out in 1784 for India, where they remained for ten years. As a result of their industry there was printed in 1810 their famous work *A Picturesque Voyage to India, by the Way of China.* Another nephew, Samuel Daniell, a painter and engraver, who died in Ceylon in

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[1] See "English Coloured Books," by Martin Hardie, pp. 130-133.

1811, produced his *Picturesque Illustration of the Scenery, Animals, and Native Inhabitants of the Island of Ceylon* (1808), and a work entitled *Views in Bootan.*

One who cannot aspire to possession of the coloured books, may yet satisfy in very fair measure his ambition to have pictorial representation of India and her monuments, for there is an astonishing amount of sporadic black and white illustration in a certain class of literary publications of the first half of last century. About the third decade of that century there appeared a large number of annals and presentation volumes with articles on Oriental subjects, frequently illustrated. These dainty books made acceptable gifts, and were a usual ornament for the "centre table." They comprise the following among others: *The Oriental Annual, Fisher's Drawing Room Scrap-Book, Heath's Book of Beauty, The Keepsake, Friendship's Offering, The Literary Souvenir* and later *The Chaplet,* etc.

The articles were intended for popular perusal, but some of them merit notice for their historical contents, as for instance: "The Doom of the House of Sassan," by W. C. Taylor, LL.D. (*Friendship's Offering,* 1838); the poem "Timour's Death-Bed," by William Kennedy (*Literary Souvenir,* 1833); "A Scene in the Life of Nourmahal," by L.E.L. (Letitia Elizabeth Landon; *Book of Beauty,* 1837).

In the *Book of Beauty,* for 1837, occurs at least one literary curiosity, a Paraphrase of Cap. 93, Al-Koran, entitled, "The Brightness," revealed at Mecca, by C. J. Kemeys Tynte.

In the *Keepsake* for 1833 appears a short tale "Pepita, a Mexican story, by the author of Hajji Baba," in which the simple maiden Pepita outwitted Gomez el Capador, captain of a gang of robbers, and did thereby "at once secure her fortune, and afford an example that in the humbler paths of life, are frequently exhibited some of the highest and most valuable qualities of our nature." In the issue for 1831 is found a poem of great dramatic vigour, "The Hermit of the Coliseum," likewise "by the author of Hajji Baba." Though both presumably belong to the period of their author's best literary activity, for *Zohrab, the Hostage,* "one of the best of his novels," appeared in 1832, these could add nothing to his renown; they do, however, testify in some measure to the versatility of the enigmatical James Morier. He is now remembered perhaps only by his *Adventures of Hajji Baba,* that "foolish business of a book" which embarrassed for a time his position as Secretary to the Persian Embassy, but his *Martin Toutrond; or Adventures of a Frenchman in London,* a work described by one critic as "but the rinsings of a *testa* which did not retain the merest suspicion of the Falernian with which it may have been *semel imbutá,*" contains an inimitable specimen of the pitfalls underlying idioms, and is worthy of citation in every Translation-class. Martin for greater facility drafted in his native tongue, French, a *billet doux* to an English inamorato. His inadequate knowledge of English, and his ill-applied consultation of a dictionary and a grammar, resulted in an English rendering which imported a comical element into an impassioned declaration of love: "It must that I speak. Silence weighs me. I can no more of it, beautiful and adorable Miss. I love you with one word—yes—or I talk or I burst. My heart and my hand are all at you. I throw myself, my body, my title-deeds, my fortune, my hopes to your feet: dispose them. Transportation enlivens me. I do not possess myself any more. I consume myself by a slow fire—I suffer from ardent spirits. Do not be without sense, you who make my sweets. The currents of my life will be sweeter if you regard me with compassion, but if you push me, bitterness and despair tender me their arms. Believe then to my love, O adorable Miss—believe I am ready to make a grand sacrifice. Yes—I make him—from this moment I make him—know your power. From this moment I declare myself. I pull out the word—I am Besette. I swear this upon Napoleon's cinders!"

In these rather neglected tomes one finds associated with India the names of artists honoured in Europe. David Roberts, Samuel Prout, Clarkson Stanfield, T. Creswick, G. Cattermole, T. Boys, T. C. Dibdin, W. Purser, etc. But their connection is an indirect one, and one must deplore the fact that they did not visit it and employ their talents on its landscapes, temples and towers. It is matter for gratitude, however, that Captain R. Elliot, R.N., and Thomas Bacon, F.S.A., were enabled to place their Indian sketches in the hands of these masters for completion and preparation for the engraver, and to find, as Bacon states in his own connection, "the most distinguished artists of the day ready to correct the errors of his pencil."

The essay by Sir William Gell on "The Romantic History of the Arabs in Spain" (*Book of Beauty*, 1837), though not directly concerned with India, provides occasion for referring here to David Roberts, some of whose superb drawings of the Muhammadan cities in Spain, veritably dream-cities visualised, adorn *The Chaplet.* He started in life as a scene-painter, but was destined for a career of the highest artistic service, and also to attain recognition in his life-time. He went to Spain in 1832, and was one of the first of English artists to visit Egypt and Syria. The memory of both tours is preserved in his *Picturesque Sketches in Spain : Taken during the years 1832 and 1833* and *Roberts's Sketches in the Holy Land, Egypt and Syria* (published between 1842 and 1849). The "Gulf of Akabah, Arabia Petraea" is probably his most easterly scene. R. S. Lander in his "David Roberts, in Eastern Dress" painted the portrait of the traveller-painter. His beautiful "Hall of Judgment" in the Alhambra (*The Chaplet)* exhibits those same means which he employed in drawing the interiors of his churches,—a department of his art in which he is said to be unequalled, of giving space, height and grandeur to his architectural studies, and also "his method of animating these works by groups of worshippers."

The *Oriental Annual*, as its title indicates, is devoted to the East, and some at least of its issues, with sketches by T. Bacon, to India. But the most artistic of these publications is the annual known as *Fisher's Drawing Room Scrap-Book*, "...a literary luxury, addressed chiefly to a young and gentler class of readers," as the gifted but ill-starred L. E. L. writes in her Introduction to the number for 1831, and whose connection with it, represented by her poetical illustrations, over a period of years, does not lessen its interest. The original sketches for the Indian plates were made by Capt. R. Elliot, R.N.

In mention of some of the engravings pride of place may well be allowed to Delhi, that Phœnix-like revives from out its own ashes. In the first years after the Mutiny, and long before there was any anticipation of her reinstatement in the seat of central authority, perhaps her most brilliant son, a genial yet exacting friend, an easy yet inimitable writer of prose, and a poet whose verses in Urdu and Persian are the delight, and often the despair, of his admirers, Mirza Asadullah Khan "Ghalib," wrote to a correspondent : "...my heart burns at the desolation of Lucknow, but do not forget that after this destruction there will be construction, spacious roads, that is, will come into being, and good bazaars result. He that sees it will praise it. But after Delhi's ruin there is no reconstruction ; ruin will proceed apace..." Elsewhere, deploring the decline in literary Urdu owing to the foreign elements in the population of Delhi, its home-land, and the disappearance of old landmarks through change and decay, the doughty champion of the highest standard of literary, nay, of all human, attainment, pathetic now amid his broken fortunes, and by reason of his long infirmities, wrote of it : "...In short the city is become a desert ; if the wells now disappear, and water should become a rare gem, its desert will turn into the desert of Kerbela. Alas, alas, Delhi folk still speak well of the local tongue ! What faith ! Well, Sir, the Urdu Bazar exists no longer, and Urdu is gone with it, and Delhi ! Alas, there is now no city, but a camp, a cantonment, with neither fort, nor city, nor bazar, nor canal !..."

Of Elliot's sketches may be mentioned one of "Delhi," finished by W. Purser (*D.R.S.-B.* 1831) ; one of the "Tomb of Humaioon,—Delhi," likewise prepared by Purser (*D.R.S.-B.* 1833), and one of the "Cootub Minar, Delhi" (*Ib.*). The finishing touches were given to the last by that wizard of the pencil Samuel Prout. It is distinguished by that richness of chiaroscuro so typical of his work, yet a feature which according to Ruskin determined its quality : "...If ever Prout strains a nerve, or begins to think what other people will say or feel ;—nay, if he ever allows his own real faculty of chiaroscuro to pronounce itself consciously, he falls into fourth and fifth rate work directly...." Here too one may observe that other feature, his power of expressing magnitude, to which Ruskin pays such glowing tribute : "...Prout was, and he remains, the only one of our artists who entirely shared Turner's sense of magnitude, as the sign of past human effort, or of natural force...In the real apprehension of measurable magnitude, magnitude in things clearly seen—stones, trees, clouds, or towers—Turner and Prout stand—they two—absolutely side by side—otherwise companionless" (*Notes by Mr. Ruskin on Samuel Prout and William Hunt,* pp. 32-35).

The sketches of the ruins and monuments at Futtehpore Sikri, the garden residence of the Emperor Akbar after his transfer of the capital from Delhi to Agra, passed through the hands of D. Roberts (*Orient. An.*, 1839), Y. Creswick (*Ib.*), and Purser (*D.R.S.-B.*, 1833).

Agra, the Akbarabad of Akbar, the Moghul Colossus, and the embodiment of dynamic zeal, who raised its status from a village to a magnificent city, has also had due meed of record. Its Fort is delineated by C. Stanfield (*Or. An.*, 1839), and the Jumma Mosque by Purser (*D.R.S.-B.*, 1831). The last mentioned volume yields what to many, if not to all, must surely be the gem of these black and white delineations of monuments of Indian history, that of the Taj Mahall. It has been reverently treated by Capt. Elliot in his sketch, Sam Prout in his drawing, and Robert Wallis, a master of the burin. This Mausoleum of white marble built by the Emperor Shah Jahan to the memory of his Sultana Mumtaz Mahall, is one of the world's wonders, its design never failing to elicit the admiration of the architect, its beauty awaking deepest emotions in all. An atmosphere of tragedy too invests it, for in it rest the mortal remains of Shah Jahan, whose last years of life were passed in confinement in the Fort, to which he was condemned by his son Aurangzeb. Prof. Patrick Geddes once stated in the course of an address that he believed that in its creation was embodied a symbol, the mundane stir without, the tomb and its garden respectively representing the passage from life through death to immortality. Whether or no, it is fortunate that it was no other than Prout who collaborated in producing the illustration of the hallowed monument. One may be pardoned again quoting Ruskin with reference to this humble, industrious, sensitive, keen man. Alluding to the meetings of the old Water-colour Society in London, he says: "...It became, however, by common and tacit consent Mr. Prout's privilege; and it remained his privilege exclusively to introduce foreign elements of romance and amazement into this—perhaps slightly fenney—atmosphere, of English common sense," "...his drawings prepared for the water-colour room were usually no more than mechanical abstracts, made absolutely for support of his household, from the really vivid sketches which, with the whole instinct and joy of his nature, he made all through the cities of ancient Christendom, without an instant of flagging energy, and without a thought of money payment. They became to him afterwards a precious library, of which he never parted with a single volume as long as he lived (*Notes*, pp. 26-7).

Bejapore, Benares, the Ellora Caves, Ghazipore, Hurdwar, etc., monuments Hindu and Muhammadan, all are faithfully sketched, and Indian skies well treated, at this period when black and white is said to have reached its zenith of attainment in the representation of clouds and cloud-effects.

A. H. HARLEY

REPRESENTATIO

I.

To grasp, the hands are whole of me,
To walk, so are the feet,
Each organ represents the whole
In ways unknown but meet.

But what of body and the soul
Yea, the soul must requir' it
To lie in hell of darkest sins
Or live in heaven of merit.

They call our God the one great soul,
His body universe.
His body's then His freest will
And He, the womb and hearse.

If universe His body be,
For him stands ev'ry soul,
Each object of man's sense and mind
Thus presents the whole.

The Sun His glorious splendour be,
The phaseful moon His mind,
The water is His freshness cool,
His breath the stir of wind.

The earth His all-producing womb,
Refiner He as fire,
He watches over all as sky—
The one eternal sire.

Seek Him in all—all be but His,
In very core and rind;
The stars smile glimpse of what He be
Beyond His creature's mind.

The Scroll divine is spread on high,
In starry script 'tis writ;
'Tis sealed with seal, men Sun, Moon call
For him to read, who's wit.

Then worship Him in all of worth
And love each tiny soul;
The child caressed, the mother's pleased,
The least but stands for whole.

In all thy worship mind thou still,
The world is but His causeless will.
He is, world is, if world were not
Then yet He be, beyond all thought.

II.

The log's afloat on Ganges' breast
And perch'd thereon am I,
With awe-fraught stillness hushed is world,
Sun's rise from slumber's nigh.

All-sudden flies a fiery shaft
From East horizon-bow
And pierced is dying darkness' breast,
Whence jets of redness flow.

Swift showers of arrows from that bow
Now fall around, thick, fast;
A tremor runs thro' all that be,
A magic glow is cast.

King Sun now steps upon his throne,
From world he homage claims,
And those must run to greet their lord,
Unnumbered are whose names.

The switch is touch'd on speck of sky
The world is charged with life,
Life-currents flow above, below,
All wake in joyous strife.

The beasts leave lairs, the birds chant love,
There's music in the breeze,
And fruits descend in colour'd songs
From dew-bathed voiceful trees.

Ganges smiles her smile of heart,
Bestirred by gentle oar,
She is not deckt with gold or gem
But wives and maids from shore.

I turn myself within to hear
My King's supreme command;
May I be granted by His grace
The wit to understand!

"Creation's one as God is one,
His sign of glory's call'd the Sun."

MOHINIMOHAN CHATTERJI

AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA

II.

Long before the Agricultural Department was organised on its present basis, the attention of the Government had been directed to the necessity of providing water for agricultural purposes, not only to meet a general failure of the monsoon, but also because, even in good seasons, artificial irrigation was a necessity for the successful cultivation of many of the more valuable crops ; and the irrigation canals of Northern India, which turn to productive use the waters of the Indo-Gangetic system, rank amongst the greatest and most beneficent triumphs of engineering in the whole world. The Irrigation Commission of 1901-03, appointed at the instance of Lord Curzon's Government, sketched out a rough programme of irrigation extension for a twenty-year period, estimated to cost thirty millions sterling, and designed to bring into cultivation 6·5 million acres. Most of the main projects they outlined have now been completed and the field for the further extension of remunerative irrigation works is now very limited. There is, however, considerable scope for works of smaller dimensions which might not be directly profitable, but which would reduce the cost and mitigate the intensity of future droughts. There are various methods by which irrigation is accomplished in India. Apart from the splendid canal systems of Upper India, a very large area is irrigated by the cultivators themselves without any assistance from the Government, by the use of such means as wells, tanks, and temporary obstructions to divert water from streams on to the fields. There are at least three million wells in India from which water is lifted for irrigation, and in Madras alone, there are nearly 30,000 tanks irrigating between 2·5 and 3 million acres. Almost every known system of raising water, from baling in wicker-baskets to pumping by machinery, is practised in India, and the Divi

Island plant on the Kistna River is probably the largest pumping station for irrigation in the world. Some idea of the place of irrigation in the Indian agricultural system may be formed from the following figures: The total area irrigated in 1919-20 was 48,963,000 acres, as against 47,222,000 acres in the preceding year. Of this area, 20,550,000 acres were irrigated from Government canals, 2,647,000 acres from private canals, 7,337,000 acres from tanks, 12,692,000 acres from wells, and 5,737,000 acres from other sources of irrigation. Of the total area irrigated, 26% was in the Punjab, 22% in the United Provinces, 20% in the Madras Presidency, 12% in Bihar and Orissa, 7% in Sind, and the remaining 13% in the other provinces. The proportion of irrigated to total sown area in the various provinces is as follows: Sind, 79% ; the Punjab, 50% ; North-west Frontier Province, 42% ; Ajmere-Merwara, 39% ; Delhi, 27% ; and Bihar and Orissa. 23% . These figures do not take into account areas sown more than once during the year with the help of irrigation; but only indicate the extent of land actually irrigated. Counting areas sown more than once as separate crops for each area, the gross area of irrigated crops was 53,019,000 acres (estimated) in 1919-20. Of this area, it is interesting to note, about 86% was under food-crops, wheat leading with 10,106,000 acres, other cereals and pulses occupying 31,940,000 acres and the remaining 3,416,000 acres being devoted to other food crops.[1] The total capital outlay on State irrigation up to 31st March, 1920, amounted to £51,447,375 which, apart from the advantages it conferred on cultivators, yielded a net profit to the State, after payment of interest charges, of about £2,275,600.[2] The annual value of the crops raised is estimated at over 150% on the capital outlay.[3]

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[1] Agricultural Statistics for British India, 1919-1920, Vol. I.

[2] For details, see p. 150. Statistical Abstract for British India, Cod. 1778 of 1922.

[3] The Moral and Material Progress Report for 1920 estimates the value of the crops on areas irrigated by Government works at considerably more than twice the capital expenditure on the works. See p. 116.

Among the projects for further extension of irrigation which are, or will soon be sanctioned, are the Sarda Kicha and the Sarda Canals in the United Provinces, designed to protect the north-eastern districts of Oudh now extremely liable to scarcity, and to irrigate an area of 1,368,000 acres. The Sukkur Barrage and Canals project contemplates a barrage across the Indus at Sukkur, with three canals on the right bank, and one on the left. The new canals will irrigate 5·3 million acres, and the whole scheme will cost 18·4 millions sterling; but it has been calculated that the value of the crops lost in 1918-1919 alone through drought would have sufficed to pay the cost of the project. The Damodar Canal in Bengal has been designed to secure an adequate supply of water to the existing Eden Canal, and in addition, to protect a considerable area in the Burdwan District. The Kharung Tank, in the Bilaspnr District of the Central Provinces, will consist of a large storage reservoir with canals taking off on either side. It will cost 0·59 millions sterling, will irrigate 97,000 acres, and will protect some 200 villages. The Government is also considering a very important project for the Sutlej Valley Canals, by which new irrigation will be provided for extensive tracts in the Punjab and the adjoining Native States of Bahawalpur and Bikanir, bringing some 3·75 acres of waste land into cultivation, and promising a return of more than 11 per cent. on the capital outlay. These projects in no way exhaust the irrigation programme; nevertheless they indicate the fact that the Government is fully alive to the situation and its needs.

The insufficiency of manure has been mentioned as one of the causes of the backwardness of Indian cultivation. Dr. Voclcker cites many instances to show that, while the ryot is aware of the qualities of both farmyard and green manure,[1] he is compelled by poverty to use his cattle manure for other purposes. The wide use of it, in the form of cakes,[1] as fuel is highly uneconomical so far as the maintenance of the fertility of the soil is concerned, and this could easily be avoided by rendering available for the farmer a cheap supply of fuel. Rich both in organic and inorganic substances, both in nitrogen and in minerals, farmyard manure is the only manure containing in itself all the constituent elements of fertility. Agricultural proverbs, like "Old suck and lots of water" current among the peasantry of South India show that its high manurial value is generally recognised. But it suffers both waste and impoverishment from the manner in which the cattle are housed in open unsheltered yards, exposed to sun and rain; from the non-provision of litter to catch and retain the manure; and from the general ignorance of the value of the liquid element; and one of the duties the Agricultural Department has taken upon itself to-day is to teach the farmer more efficient methods of manure conservation. There is also another fertiliser available in large quantities, the use of which is certain to increase the yield of land. The success of the Flemish, German and Japanese systems is in large measure due to the utilization of night-soil as manure; and in speaking of Madras, Sir Frederick Nicholson has pointed out what a vast scope the country offers for the adoption of this plan of manuring. "In a poor country like Madras," says he,—and his remarks will apply equally to the other parts of India—"which, over vast areas, knows nothing of fish or bone as fertilisers, practises little green manuring except for rice, and poisons itself with the natural fertiliser festering on village sites, its proper use is all-important agriculturally and hygienically; properly used, it would be of the highest assistance not merely in the improvement of the soil, but in preventing its degradation to that minimum.

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[1] Report, Chap. VII, pp. 93-96.

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[1] Varatties, as they are called in S. India.

productivity which, meagre in normal years, disappears entirely in seasonal conditions which a healthy, well-worked and well-nourished soil would successfully resist."[1] Prejudice is the great bar to the more prevalent adoption of this cheap and abundant manuring matter, but greater yields and greater profits will undoubtedly overcome this obstacle. There is also available in India another organic manure which again, owing to prejudice, is not made sufficient use of. Outside each village, says Hume,[2] is a golgotha, where the bones of all dead animals whiten and decay in ghastly piles, and at present this vast amount of phosphatic manure is running to waste. The use of artificial manure in India is yet in its days of infancy, and its relatively high cost will militate against its wider adoption. India, however, possesses sufficient substances out of which artificial manures may be manufactured at a low cost. An eminent Indian geologist has recently pointed out the occurrences, 'in almost fabulous quantities,' of gypsum in Kashmir, and referred to its possible uses as a soil stimulant.[3] Modern researches in America have shown that sulphur is absolutely necessary to plant proteins and that the sulphur content of coat farm products is much higher than had been previously suspected. The artificial addition of sulphates like gypsum to the soil not only confers all the benefits derived from acid phosphates but also encourages the sulphofying bacteria to work more energetically and increases the growth of the nitrogen-fixing bacteria. In dealing with the iron and steel industry of India, I have referred to the manufacture of ammonium sulphate and other fertilisers which is receiving attention in the Singbhum region.[4] Increasing attention is also being paid to the manufacture of guano, the number of private factories engaged in its production having increased by nearly 200 in 1920 in the Madras Presidency alone. Developments in the production and use of manure along lines such as these will prevent the Indian methods of cultivation from degenerating into a 'system of spoliation,'[1] and tend to improve the productive powers of the soil.

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[1] See his "Note on Agriculture in Japan," p. 43.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 35.

[3] See the Presidential Address of Mr. C. S. Middlemiss at the ninth annual meeting of the Indian Science Congress, 30th January, 1922, Madras.

[4] *Vide* Economica, London, January, 1923, pp. 57 and 63.

(*To be continued.*)

P. P. PILLAI

BENEDICTION

In your eyes lie the shadows of the hills;
The strange and poignant shadows of the
Far-off misty purple hills, that rise
Beyond the limit of the tortured Plains.
Your eyes to me are cool deep wells of peace,
Hiding from the cruel passion of the Sun;
Remote from all the strident noise and heat
Of Tropic day. I seek renewal there,
Within those tender depths where solace dwells.
They are my dreams, and all my recompense;
They are the sanctuary of the soul;
They hold the promise and the hope of all
My yearning visions, and the quietude
Of sweet contentment and perfected love.

LILY S. ANDERSON

IMPRESSIONS OF SIMLA

If there is any one thing to which I longingly look forward it is the Puja holidays. And the reason is simple. It is only during that fortnight that I recover my forfeited freedom: freedom to do what I please; to go where I please; in short, to follow my bent, entirely uninterrupted and uninterfered with. No one who has not been yoked to stern duties, or to the demands of an exacting profession, can realize or appreciate the joy of this regained freedom. During this serene interval there is complete cessation of dull routine work; there is a salutary change of surroundings; there is unbroken leisure to renew old acquaintances, or to do homage to old masters. During this charming armistice law recedes into the background, and art and letters assert their sway. I love this temporary freedom, and all the more as its duration is so brief, and all too soon is its end. During the last six years we have made six successive pilgrimages to that home of gaiety—that seat of the Bengal Government—which is known as Darjeeling. Without being ungrateful for its many kindnesses in the past, we decided to visit another shrine of pleasure this year, and our choice fell on Simla. And Simla, undoubtedly, is the greater of the two shrines, for whereas one is provincial, the other is imperial in its tone and bearing. To Simla, then, we turned our steps. But, oh dear, when we reached Allahabad, there were dismal rumours afloat of floods and landslips; of transhipments; of possible halts on the way; of all manner of distressing perils—real and imaginary. But, like true pilgrims, bent on reaching our destination and turning a deaf ear to these terrifying rumours, we went our way. The only thing we noticed was that the train ran with extreme caution, and that we were held up, now and then, along our route. But safely we reached our destination, though ten hours behind time. Instead of arriving in daylight, we reached Simla at night. But this was not without its compensating advantage; for we saw the lights of Simla—shimmering in the distance—gorgeous in their splendour. They seemed like so many fairy-lamps suspended in the heavens, and lit up specially for some notable banquet of the gods. Very charming and impressive was the scene, and we felt absolutely spell-bound by it. Night soon slipped away, and when the sun rose, illumining the sky with its golden tinge, and shedding its light on the sombre hills, our sense of pleasure knew no limits. And how lovely Simla looked, bathed in sunshine and aglow with joy! It seemed to me a little paradise, free from the carping cares and petty vexations of life—a spot where humanity realized and acted upon the advice of the immortal Horace.

"If thou art wise, then strain the wine. The span of life is brief.
So prune thy far out-reaching hopes—the while we speak has run
One niggard minute: clutch to-day, and trust no morrow's Sun."

And it does one good to be encircled with laughter and cheerfulness, even for a little, little while. And how interesting it is to watch from afar the snobbery and vanity of our kind—and we see plenty of both at Hill Stations—more so perhaps at Simla than anywhere else. The dominant note of the life there appeared to me to be a sabbathless pursuit of pleasure. Some sought it in the display of frocks and the conquest of men; some in the soul-absorbing game of bridge; some in that most delightful of vocations which is called "philandering"; some in trumpeting their great achievements; some in a quiet chat with friends; some in long and some in lonely walks; some on horseback—all, indeed, were determined to make the most of their time and opportunities in their own, own way.

A capital opportunity, for the study of man, offered itself to me at a Garden Party which I had the honour of attending. There I watched the game of the wealthy, the aristocrat, the official, the courtier; and intensely interesting the game was. There, at one single spot, had gathered the cream and flower of society, in rich costumes, in gorgeous head-dresses, in fascinating gowns, in brilliant *saries*. Men were all politeness; women all smirks and posturings. There were warm hand-shakes, pretty smiles, charming courtesies, proud humility, and a pervading air of loving brother and sisterhood. How my heart leapt with joy to see humanity so loving, so kind, so gracious! It almost seemed that the age of universal peace and love and goodwill—dreamt of by the poets—was at last realised on this earth, ending for evermore that era of malice, hatred, ill-will which has hitherto degraded mankind to a state of camouflaged savagery. It was a positive study in life to be there, and to silently watch the play. The great Heine has said, Let a man stand, for a while, in Cheapside, and he will learn more of men and their ways than any philosopher can teach him. Yes! Heinrich Heine—You always spoke the truth, and sometimes with a vein of intense bitterness. Let a man go to one of these fashionable resorts, and he will learn quite as much of men and their ways as he would in Cheapside. The artistically-laid lawn was dotted with the magnates of Simla, each well satisfied with his happy lot, and each the centre of a small group of admirers, all ready to nod, to smile, to laugh, to agree "according to plan." Beyond these fortunate groups which directly basked in the sunshine of official favour there were less fortunate groups hanging around near by—whose members, with palpitating hearts, were seeking admission into the charmed circle. I could see their trembling frame; their expectant, eager looks; their alternating hope and despair.

I could see, in short, their extreme anxiety to secure a smile, a hand-shake, a few words of benediction from the mighty wielders of power—the high-priests of our Indian bureaucracy. But if the lawn was the theatre of Indian loyalty—more wondrous still was the scene enacted in the pavilion where Their Excellencies took light refreshment and received the homage of the *élite.* It was a sight to see these "chosen" not to say "peculiar" few walk up to that hallowed enclosure. Pride was legibly inscribed on their faces; and well that might be—for out of the swarming, throbbing multitude, they alone had been selected for that high distinction. And besides pride the discerning eye detected something else; for frequent contact with Kings and Queens, dukes and duchesses, provincial governors and their exalted partners, had infected them with marked imperial airs, which, of course, they wore lightly like a flower.

What passed within the pavilion must be left to a high-soaring imagination, which knoweth no bar and feareth no height. Entry there, was not for me. The garden-party, like all things earthly, ended—and I wended my way to my lodging, my mind in a ferment of thoughts and reflections.

Among the visitors who had come to Simla and whom I had the honour to meet—there were two who specially attracted and rivetted my attention: *Sir Faultless Omniscience* and *Lady Zulaikha Nurgis.* Sir Faultless was a member of the Indian Civil Service, and, as such, was one of the evanescent divinities of my country. He had passed through many stages of public service, and had now attained an eminence which is but rarely reached, even by the members of that *poorly-paid* service. He had ruled districts as Magistrate; he had issued *mandamus* as Judge; he had sent forth formidable edicts from the Secretariat; he had held *even* his chiefs in awe of him. His days of glory—though nearing their end—are not yet over. Homage and the incense of adulation are therefore his yet a while. This Sir Faultless I met at breakfast, and fear seized me, and a chill ran through me, for I have always trembled at his name. Sir Faultless—so serious, so stern, so unbending in rectitude, so inflexible in virtue, so untiring in work—Sir Faultless, under the very same roof as the present writer—so entirely different from him; so supremely inadequate; so utterly steeped in faults. What strange things life offers! What startling contrasts! When I described Sir Faultless as serious and stern, it was no empty phraseology, but sober truth. Serious—for what else but serious could he be, when you remember the white man's burden which he has so nobly shouldered for years. Stern—what else but stern could he be, for has he not ruled the presumptuous equality-claiming blacks under overwhelming difficulties? Sir Faultless is, in reality, faultless to a fault. Among his virtues—countless as the stars overhead—there are some obtrusively prominent. The most noticeable is his passion for gossip. He is well-stocked with all the scandals of the black and white. He is acquainted with the failings, the weaknesses, the vices of all—known or unknown to him. You need only go to him to obtain materials to blacken a foe or exalt a friend. Some captious countrymen of his dubbed him '*a gossiping old woman.*' But, dear reader, this is sheer malice. He is merely greedy of information, of knowledge, of light. Have I not often heard him hum to himself the famous line of the 'Mantuan Bard'? *Felix qui potuit rerum causas cognoscere.* In his great knowledge-seeking mind are carefully stored scraps of tittle-tattle, fairy-tales, spicy bits of gossip, savoury scandals of his time. He is an encyclopædia—the fullest and the completest ever known to man. I fear to think of the day when he will be no more. What priceless treasures will he carry with him to the grave—treasures, irrecoverable, lost for ever to humanity. But if the love of gossip is his striking virtue—no less conspicuous is the Socratic cast of his mind. He loves, in discussion, to corner a friend, to humble a foe. Rarely does he agree with any one. Opposition is in the very composition of his nature. He, therefore, opposes and opposes and opposes for evermore. But in this combativeness many detect vanity and conceit, a furtive claim to unerring wisdom, infallibility, omniscience. Hence his name, Sir Faultless. Sir Faultless—is as may be imagined—a finished scholar and, as such, he always lays down the law. His is not a mere mortal's voice, but that of a high pontiff of learning—sure of immortality, secure of a place by the side of Socrates and Plato and Aristotle. India—the unappreciative India—unmindful of its *own* children of light and lore—is hardly a place for one like Sir Faultless—so varied in taste, so matchless in endowments. In saying goodbye to you, Sir Faultless, may I respectfully implore you to add Christian charity and Christian forgiveness to the list of your many shining virtues?

If Sir Faultless was the terror, Lady Nurgis was the joy of my life in Simla. She was a phantom of delight, a vision of perfect beauty. To such as she Hafiz must have addressed his amatory odes; Muhtashim his passionate panegyrics; Qaani his soul-entrancing poetry. I saw her for the first time on an exceptionally propitious night—the night of a dance—a night when youth and beauty met for riotous revelry. Delicately perfumed, endowed with nature's choicest gifts, adorned with art, a child of fortune—she swept into the room with a queenly air and superb assurance of her power and conquests. She rarely lifted her drooping eyes; she spoke in inaudible whispers; she played with her pencil; she looked abstracted, detached from her surroundings. She wore indeed, the appearance of a goddess in exile. I could see that, flung into the midst of mortals, she was ill at ease. She endured human companionship in silent but visible agony. She could —I saw—endure it no longer. She gently rose from her seat, and set out for Tennyson's lucid interspace of world and world where never creeps a cloud or moves a wind. Such was my first vision of that goddess of love and youth and beauty! Since then I have paid my homage—for what mortal can refuse homage to her—from a distance, for I felt that mortal propinquity, mortal touch, would be distasteful, abhorrent to a nature so divine as hers. Ah! She must live with the flowers and nightingales. She must hold communion with the shining stars and the caressing moon. She is not of the earth—earthy. She must feed on poetry, and live on love—celestial poetry and divine love. May God grant this way-farer's prayer. Fair lady, may thy beauty never fade! May thy happiness never end! I kiss the hem of thy garment, and I bid thee farewell.

Can I part with Simla without referring to its Church, where the slumbering piety of its citizens finds a religious outlet after a whole week of unresting race for pleasure. Nor can I forget its stately Council-House, where Indians are taught lessons in Self-Government and free speech—fearless of the Indian Penal Code. Nor yet its waste-paper baskets, set up—at regular intervals—all along its fashionable walks.

My fortnight flew apace, and, with regret, we packed for our homeward journey. Simla not only ungrudgingly contributed to our happiness, but vastly added to and enriched our experiences of life.

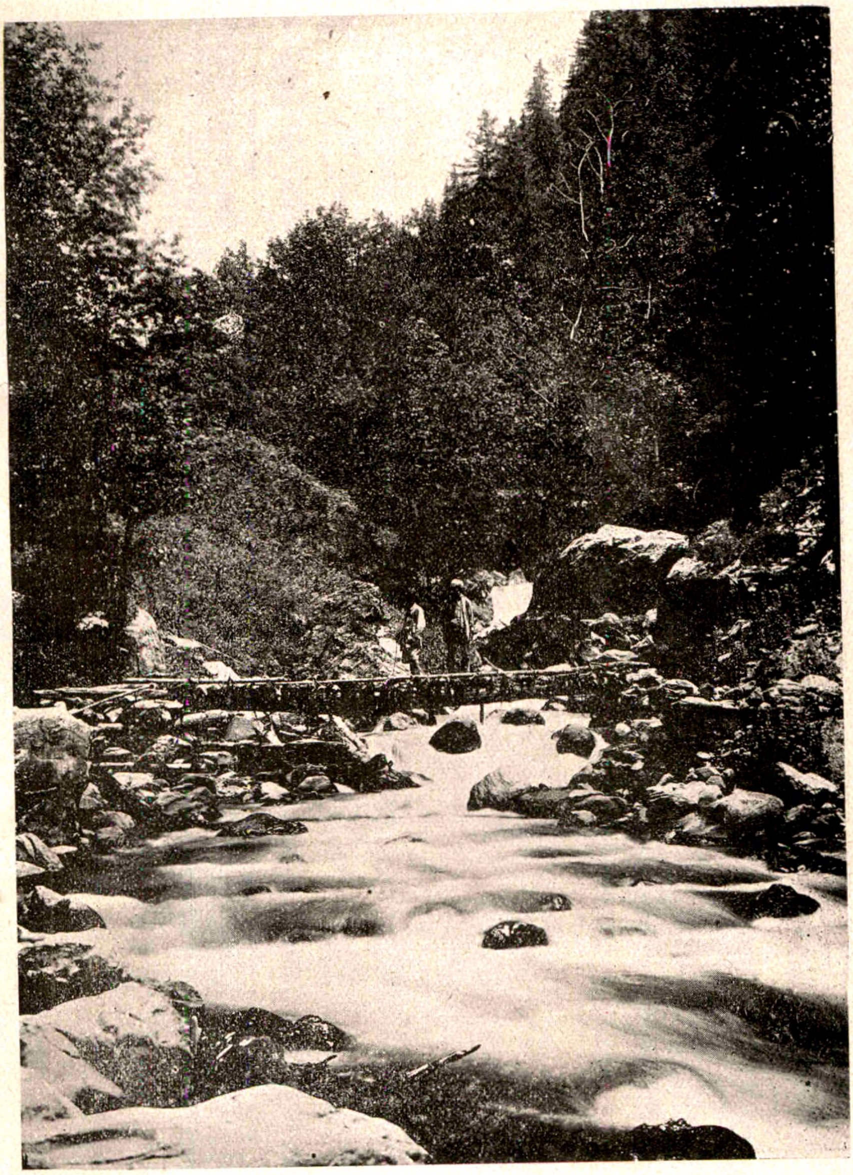
S. KHUDA BUKHSH

FLESH AND LOVE

"That flower grows in flower, O Maid,
Is heard but nev'r seen!
Then what in that thy lotus face
The lotus eyes twain mean?
Death lurks in those thine shining eyes,
Death rides upon those hills—thy breast,
Death's kiss is in thy scented breath
And in thy smile destruction rests.
Ah! so, indeed flesh poets say
But Love me turns another way
Thine eyes—they shine with silent light
From where all eyes are ever blind
And life streams forth from out thy breast,
Thy breath indraws to God the mind,
Thy smile fulfils Life's mystic end
And souls with souls and soul's God blend.

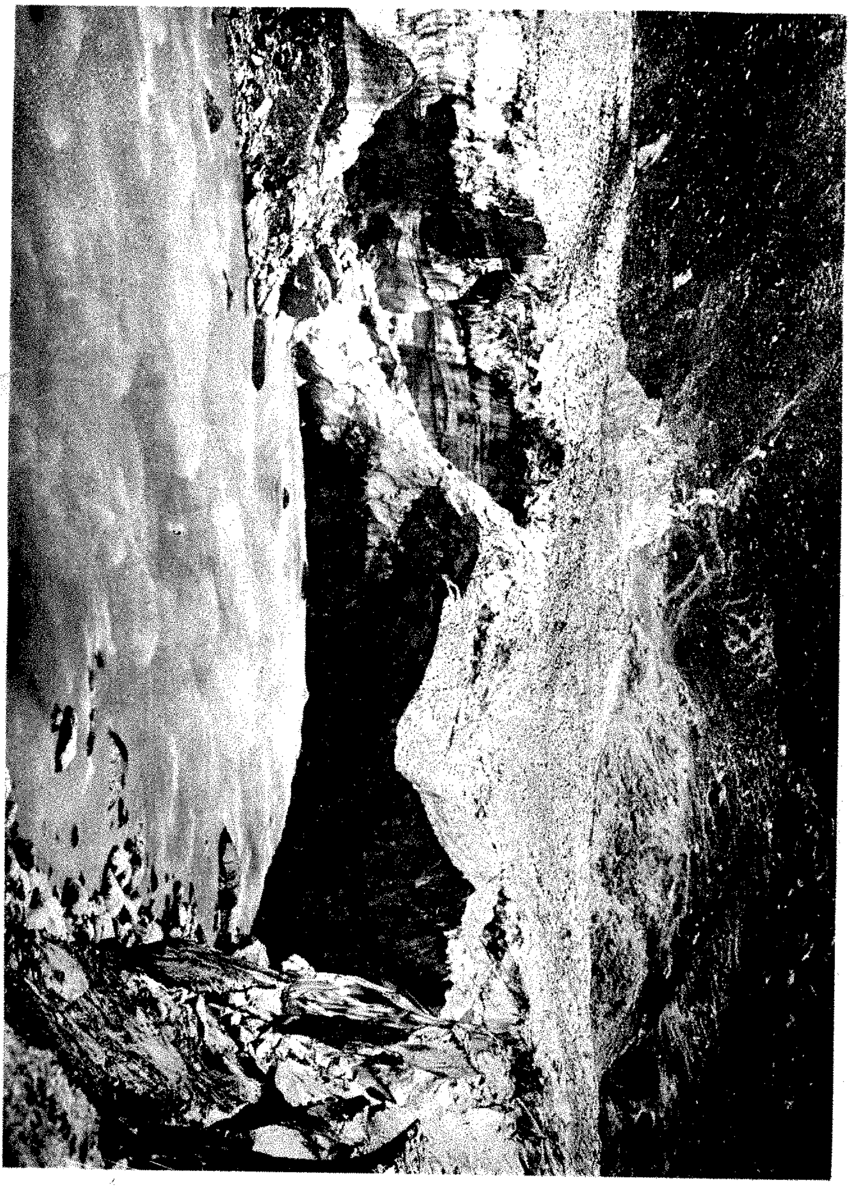
MOHINIMOHAN CHATTERJI

KASHMIR



Log Bridge on the Marev-Sindh in Kashtwar

The Peaks of Brahma (Height 21,059 feet)



Snow Bridge over the Nallah at Zajinai in Kashtwar

The Ice-Bound Himalaya : View from Top of the Sari Pass near Zajinai in Kashtwar

Reviews

The Freedom of the Seas in History, Law and Politics, by Prof. Pitman B. Potter, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Wisconsin, pp. 300, New York, Longmans Green & Co., $2·50.

In every important discussion of international relations, problems of the freedom of the seas come to the forefront. This has been increasingly so with the growth of inter-communication and international interdependence of states. The subject is technical as well as intensely practical for every student of international law and politics. *The Freedom of the Seas* by Prof. Potter is at once a text book for college students and at the same time it is so lucid that a layman can digest the fundamentals of the subject without difficulty.

Prof. Potter has treated the subject historically showing the evolution of the doctrine of "the Freedom of the Seas," giving every consideration to opposing views on the subject, at a certain period and the modification of the view in the course of time, due to changing political and social conditions.

In ancient times, during the middle ages as well as in modern times, powerful naval powers often tried to secure actual control of the Seas, although at times they subscribed to the principles of "the freedom of the seas." "Athens ruled the waves in the interest of the freedom of the seas. Such an interpretation of sea-power is not unfamiliar to students of modern international relations" (page 24), although the Roman Digest and the Institutes held the idea of common public or free character of the sea which was really a product of Stoic philosophy. We find Roman imperialism dominated the seas to the exclusion of others. This change came supposedly with the change in Rome's position in the world and the growth and exercise of her sea power. Regarding the Roman domination of the seas, Prof. Potter remarks:

> "Rome had swallowed up the independent states of the Mediterranean basin. She claimed a maritime dominion, took control by her naval power and exercised it freely and fully. But not with the free consent of free states. As a result of her conquest her sea dominion became a matter of imperial constitutional law and practice..... ......Roman maritime dominion was at once more powerful, less legalistic, and more romantic than that of Athens." (Pages 33-34.)

In the chapter on the Grotious-Sheldon controversy, discussing the merits of Mare Liberiam and Mare Clausum, it has been made quite clear that although Grotious led the foundations of the International Law of the future he was advocating the principle, to defend the right of the Dutch against the exclusion policy of the Portuguese and others in the matter of the East Indian trade. "Grotious, of the Protestant and revolutionary

Netherland denied the validity of the Papal donations to create maritime monopolies on behalf of the Catholic Monarchs" (page 59). Whereas the British idea was that the Dutch were encroaching upon the fishing rights of the British on the English coast; and they thus wanted to establish territorial jurisdiction over the seas. Sheldon frankly admitted that consideration of national safety, national policy, and national interest dictated the conclusion on the principal question. He was not concerned, as was Grotious with general international or general utility. The individual nation was the last word for him, as far as the legal rights were concerned. (Page 77.)

In various chapters the author has treated the topics of: "The Discussion of the Freedom of the Seas since 1650." The Law of Territorial Waters, Law of War at Sea. The Law regarding Piracy. Slave Trade and Navigation concisely covering the fundamental principles with rare throughness.

As to the effect of the World War on the International Law, Prof. Potter tries to show that the lack of effective organisation for the enforcement of International Law led the statesmen of all countries to violate international law with the understanding that it would be of advantage for them to do so and pay damages later on. This is exactly what is happening in internal affairs of states to-day. Pointing out the defects of the international law regarding Laws of Wars at Sea, at the eve of the World War he says,—"The chief defect of the law as it stood in 1914 was not so much uncertainty because of main principles, but uncertainty in detail, because of divergent political interest unreconciled in any compensated agreements, or sheer neglect to work out in detail, in anticipation of the actual event, the rules of the Law of Naval War." (Page 166.) He further clarifies his position:

> "The law of 1914 was defective partly by neglect, but mainly because of the appearance of state control of industry and commerce, military conscription, and means of submarines and aerial navigation, which rendered the principles, the assumptions, and the distinctions on which the law of 1914 rested questionable, uncertain, and, in certain cases, positively contrary to fact. In the face of the general character of modern war and of state control of food and other commodities and the distinction between absolute contraband, conditional contraband, and noncontraband became meaningless. For nearly all sea-borne commodities now serve the state in war and all increases in supplies for the civil population meant increases in released supplies for the army. The distinction between civilian and combatant population never has been recognised in cases of siege. Now a whole state is besieged. In the face of the modern credit system trading with the enemy is a broad term. In the face of the submarine, the rules relating to armed merchant vessels and the destruction of prizes are not at all what they were intended to be. It is in this sense that the war, or the conditions of warfare, the war in a mechanical sense, exercised an injurious influence upon pre-existing international law by revealing its defects or rendering it largely obsolete. It was not fundamentally the animosities of the belligerents, lack of organised

> sanction, the inability of the nations to agree upon its terms, nor mere neglect which made the law of naval war as it stood in 1914 ineffective in the World War. It was the fact that a sudden change, and a change not only sudden but deep and far-reaching had come over the character of the nations (as social and political systems) and the nature (from a mechanical point of view) of war" (pages 167 and 168).

Prof. Potter has devoted two chapters in contrasting the conception of the freedom of the seas as championed by continental and maritime powers. The continental powers are in favour of restricting belligerent rights whereas the maritime powers are in favour of its extension. The reason for such an attitude is purely political and as problems of power of two states. The policy of naval or maritime states are of greater consequence and it has been described as follows:

> "The position of the naval state with respect to belligerent rights at sea is relatively simple. Such a state anticipates that, in view of its worldwide interests, commercial and colonial, it is liable to be drawn into any general war which develops among the major powers. It anticipates that it will seldom be neutral in case of wars at sea. It realises, moreover, that it must itself wage war principally upon the sea, or overseas if it be called on to wage war at all. For opponents will lie overseas, will have to be attacked upon the sea or across the sea, by means of overseas expeditions supported by naval forces, and they will in turn attempt to attack by naval expeditions. It is accessible overseas, as the continental state is not accesible overland, by all other maritime states in the world; the surrounding sea if uncontrolled is a source of weakness, and open door to all naval powers. At the very least the maritime state will have to defend its coast from bombardment and invasion—this is the original reason for its large navy—; it may also have to defend its commercial vessels and neutral vessels coming to its ports from attacks at sea. Finally, having no large army and not contemplating the recruitment or use of an overseas expeditionary force in every case, such a state desires to have the means of attacking the enemy through his commerce, by capturing his commercial vessels, even sinking them, if need be, and, in general, of waging the war as vigorously as possible, on the sea against enemy commerce and shipping. The naval state is bound, therefore, to urge the retention and even expansion of all the historic belligerent rights at sea—visit and search, blockade, and the rest." (Pages 201-202.)

According to Prof. Potter the solution of the problems of the freedom of the seas lies in an international organization like the League of Nations in which the two great naval powers of Great Britain and the United States of America should participate with other nations, to establish certain principles based upon justice to all nations.

> "The truth is that such a funding of sea authority could be obtained only by the means effective to give states a voice in writing the detail rules of sea law in the past: a balance power at sea............Again, therefore, we return to the question

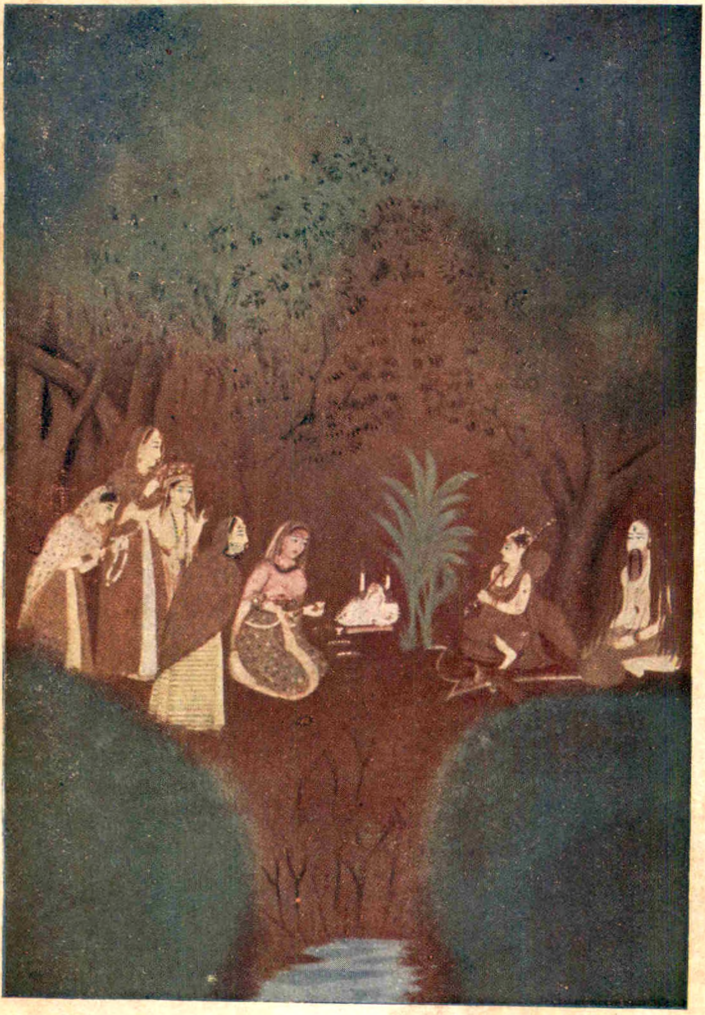
> of justice: how is America to use the balance she has obtained? To compel Britain to surrender belligerent rights (ourselves giving them up also)? To join Britain in a monopoly of such authority? Both will be unjust and disastrous. The answer lies in Anglo-American co-operation and general international organization for the suppression of international war entirely, and the substitution therefor of international government in a League of Nations. Nothing less can serve all the interests involved. Britain cannot be allowed to go on writing the law of naval war and exercising its rights, nor we join her in that tyranny; but she cannot be asked to surrender that right unless relieved of the threat of war. Only by such action can loss and suffering from naval war be restricted and eliminated without unduly hampering naval states in their competition with military states" (pages 241-242).

The author tries to sum up the whole problem in the following way:

> "Freedom from all authority at sea, maritime anarchy, is impossible from a practical viewpoint, and undesirable. Freedom from having the law of the sea dictated by one power, as by Britain, can come only by matching the naval strength of that power. That not all states can do; equality of naval strength among all states is impossible. But it can be done, and has been done, by America, more or less vicariously for all. To serve the freedom of the seas best that situation must be utilised at least to secure, through international conference, a definition of the law of territorial waters and the law of war at sea, conciliating as reasonably and fairly as possible non-combatant and neutral freedom at sea in time of war with the belligerent aims of naval states, so long as international naval war is permitted, then as a final step, our political, economic, and military or naval power must be used to secure such a definition and enforcement of national rights under a League of Nations as would make possible that suppression of international war, naval war included, without which full freedom of the seas is impossible"—(page 247).

Quite logically, according to Prof. Potter, there can be no full freedom of the seas unless all wars are banished. Can all wars be banished under the present world conditions, when international rivalries are rife and political enslavement of hundreds of millions of people in various parts of the world, especially in Asia, is countenanced as a legitimate right of strong nations and the League of Nations sanctioning such iniquity?

TARAKNATH DAS



WORSHIP IN THE FOREST

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DECEMBER, 1924

BHĀSA

It has long been known that Bhāsa was a predecessor to Kālidāsa. In the prologue to the Mālavikāgnimitra the question is asked: "Why does the assembly pay so much honour to the work of a living poet, Kālidāsa, passing by the works of such famous poets as Bhāsa, Saumilla, Kaviputra and others?" About 200 years later the poet Bāṇa praises Bhāsa as an eminent dramatist. And again a hundred years later Vākpati, the poet of the Prākrit Epic Gauḍavaha, mentions Bhāsa among his favourite poets. Rājaśekhara (about 900 A.D.) says that in the fire of criticism the Svapnavāsavadattā alone of all the dramas of Bhāsa could not be burnt. In some of the anthologies single verses are found which are ascribed to Bhāsa. This is all that was known of Bhāsa up to the year 1910. In this year Mahāmahopādhyāy Gaṇapati Śāstrī discovered in South Travancore a palm leaf manuscript which contained ten plays and a fragment of an eleventh, one of which was called Svapnavāsavadattā and which he declared to be the lost dramas of Bhāsa. Later on he found two plays more, which showed the same peculiarities as those he had found before and which he, therefore, also declared to be works of Bhāṣa. In none of these dramas, however, the name of the author is mentioned. Yet his arguments for ascribing them to the great predecessor of Kālidāsa were accepted by most Western scholars. As to Indian scholars I am not quite sure. I only know that some of them refuse to acknowledge the dramas as those of Bhāsa, while others agree with Gaṇapati Śāstrī. Which of these two parties has the majority, I do not know. Nor does it matter much. For in science truth is not found out by the majority of *votes*, but by the majority of *arguments*.

And this is certainly now one of the *great problems* of the history of Indian literature, whether the plays ascribed to Bhāsa are really his, or productions of some unknown poet and (as some scholars think) of a much later time.

But before we try to form an opinion about this problem, it will be advisable to say something about the plays themselves.

Of the thirteen plays discovered and published by Gaṇapati Śāstrī there are six short plays in which the plot is taken from the Mahābhārata, two of which treat the Rāma story, one in which the Kṛṣṇa legend forms the subject, two for which the Bṛhatkathā of Guṇādhya has supplied the plot and two which are either the poet's own invention or (what seems to me more probable) which are also taken from the Bṛhatkathā.

Five of the Mahābhārata plays (as we may call them) consist only of one act each.

In these one-act plays some short episode is taken from the Mahābhārata and very freely dramatised. There is little prose dialogue in them. They mostly consist of verses and remind us thus of their epic origin. The language is also on the whole very simple and occasionally shares some grammatical irregularities with the epic language. Yet they are all very dramatic, full of life and action. The most striking of these plays of one act is the *Urubhanga*, the 'Breaking of the Thighs" (*viz.*, of Duryodhana). The language of the play is of great vigour and beauty. The short piece is wonderfully dramatic, and would make a great impression on the stage even to-day. And what is most remarkable it is the only tragedy in the whole of Sanskrit literature. For in violation of the rules of the Nāṭyaśāstra Duryodhana passes away—स्वर्गं गच्छति as the stage direction says on the stage.

The *Pañcarātra* is a drama in three acts, based on the Virātaparvan of the Mahābhārata. But a great part of the plot is freely invented by the poet. Such an invention is, that in the battle in connection with the cow raid of Duryodhana Abhimanyu, who is fighting on the side of the Kurus, is taken prisoner by Bhīma, which leads to a very dramatic scene between father and son.

The *Bālacarita* is the earliest drama preserved to us, that has the life of Kṛṣṇa for its subject. All the miraculous stories of Kṛṣṇa's childhood are known to the author such as we find them in the most modern accounts of the Kṛṣṇa legend. But there are no erotic scenes of the kind, as we find them in the Gītagovinda, nor is there any mention of Rādhā. Again we find, that the poet has with great skill taken out of the Kṛṣṇa legend everything that could be of any dramatic effect, and has invented some very dramatic scenes in addition.

In the *Bālacarita*, as well as in the *Dūtavākya* and in the *Dūtaghaṭotkaca*, Kṛṣṇa is throughout described as the Highest Being, Nārāyaṇa.

The subject of two of the 'Bhāsa-plays,' as we may provisionally call them, is the story of Rāma. The *Pratimānāṭaka* begins with the exile of Rāma and Sītā, and ends with the abduction of Sītā through Rāvaṇa. Some of the most dramatic situations are again the poet's own invention, particularly the third Act, from which the play has its title. But while in the Pratimānāṭaka Rāma is only a human hero, he appears in the *Abhiṣekanāṭaka* which treats the latter part of the Rāma story as Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa, the only god. The first Act, in which Vālin, the king of apes, dies on the stage, is a little tragedy by itself.

Compared with other Rāma dramas, for instance, those of Bhababhūti, these two plays strike us by the skill with which the poet has created the dramas, full of action, out of the epic story. The language, too, though on the whole simple enough rises sometimes to great poetical flight. Thus Lakṣmaṇa, when seeing the ocean breaks out into the words:

" Here, here holy Varuṇa, the lord of rivers, lies stretched out, like Hari, spreading out his thousand arms the rivers, his water, blue like sapphire, shining like a cloud, heavy with rain, the foaming waves forming his beautiful necklace."

And at the end of the 4th Act the setting sun is compared to a jewel set in gold on the glowing red rug covering the temples of an elephant.

I have already mentioned that in these plays the verses far outnumber the prose passages; there is also very little Prākrit in them, and they have no comic scenes and no Vidūṣaka. With regard to all this they differ from the four 'Bhāsa-plays' belonging to the Prakaraṇa type.

The most prominent of these, no doubt the masterpiece of our poet, is the *Svapnavāsavadattā*. The plot is taken from the story of King Udayana, as it was probably told in Guṇāḍhya's Bṛhatkathā. We know the story from Somadeva's Kathāsāritsāgara, and the more we compare the story with the drama, the more we must admire the poet who has created the most delicate and refined drama out of a rather clumsy story.

The second of the 'Bhāsa-plays' that deals with the Udayana story is the *Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa*. Yet this is a drama of quite different type from the Svapnavāsavadattā; while the latter is essentially a love story, diplomacy (nīti) is the subject of the Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa. And the hero is the minister Yaugandharāyaṇa, a pendant to the minister

Cāṇakya of the Mudrārākṣasa. Full of dramatic effect is the meeting between Yaugandharāyaṇa and the rival minister of the enemy, when the first though wounded and a prisoner, speaks proudly like a conqueror to his enemy.

The third Prakaraṇa is the *Avimāraka* which is a dramatised fairy tale, probably also taken from the Bṛhatkathā. This, too, is very dramatic and the language is sometimes very artificial, similes and long compounds proving the author to be quite familiar with the Kāvya style. The Vidūṣaka of the Avimāraka reminds us of Maitreya, the Vidūṣaka in the Mṛcchakaṭika. On the one hand he is the uneducated Brāhmaṇa who always likes to talk of eating, but on the other hand, he is the most faithful friend of the hero.

Perhaps the most important of the 'Bhāsa-plays' is the *Daridracārudatta* or 'Cārudatta.' This is a fragment of four Acts only and these four Acts correspond to the first four acts of the Mṛcchakaṭika, ascribed to king Śūdraka. It may be that Cārudatta has been left incomplete by its author, and was completed and at the same time recast by Śūdraka. But it is also possible that the second part of Bhāsa's Cārudatta has been lost. But this much seems certain, that the four Acts of the 'Cārudatta' we possess are older than the corresponding four acts of Mṛcchakaṭika.

The most striking difference between the 'Bhāsa-play' 'Cārudatta' and Śūdraka's Mṛcchakaṭika is this, that in the latter the love story of the merchant Cārudatta and the courtesan Vasantasenā is interwoven with a political intrigue while in the 'Bhāsa-play' there is no trace of Aryaka, the shepherd who removes the Ksatriya Pālaka from the throne. We can see no reason why the author of the 'Cārudatta' should have carefully removed all allusions to Āryaka and Pālaka, if Śūdraka's play were the original. Besides there are a number of passages in the Mṛcchakaṭika which are clearly enlargements of the original. The investigations of Dr. Sukthankar and Dr. Morgenstiorna leave no doubt about the priority of the 'Cārudatta' to the Mṛcchakaṭika. Yet the differences between Bhāsa's Cārudatta and Sūdraka's Mṛcchakaṭika are such that we cannot call the latter a mere plagiarism. As far as we can see at present it seems that both the author of the Mṛcchakaṭika and the author of the fragment 'Cārudatta' were great poets and dramatists before the time of Kālidāsa.

But so far I have only provisionally spoken of the 'Cārudatta' and the other twelve plays as the works of Bhāsa. Now it remains for me to prove, that they are really the works of the great predecessor of Kālidāsa, or at least to state on what grounds I consider it a very probable hypothesis to see in them the dramas of Bhāsa.

For I must admit at once that as all these plays have come down to us anonymously, they cannot be ascribed to Bhāsa with absolute certainty but only with a certain degree of probability. And it will be my duty to place before you not only the arguments which speak *for* but also those which speak *against* the authorship of Bhāsa.

In order to answer the question of the authorship of these thirteen dramas, we shall have first of all to show that they all have *one* and the same author.

Now these plays have indeed much in common. They are all much shorter than all the classical plays known to us. Especially the prologue is always very short and in the prologue the author and title of the play are never mentioned as is invariably done in all the other plays of Indian literature. It may be said that these facts may also be explained by assuming that they all belong to the same school of poets or to the same part of India or to the same time. But we find also in the introductory verses (Maṇgalaśloka) of four plays (Pañcarātra, Pratimānāṭaka, Svapnavāsavadattā, and Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa) the same device of the Mudrālankāra (*i.e.*, allusion to the names of the principal persons of the play by means of puns). Two of the plays (Dūtavākya and

Madhyama) show verbal agreements in this verse. Still more important it is that the Bharatavākya (the final benediction at the end of the play) is almost identical in several of these plays (Pañcarātra, Abhiṣeka, Svapnavāsavadattā, Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa, Avimāraka: imam api mahīm Kṛtsnāmrājasiṃhaḥ praśāstu naḥ "may our god-like king rule this whole earth."

These peculiarities are common to the two groups of plays, if we call the Mahābhārata plays, the Kṛṣṇa drama Bālacarita, and the two Rāma plays the first group, and the four Prakaraṇas the second group.

All the plays of the first group have this in common, that their author must have been a strictly orthodox follower of the Brāhmaṇical religion and custom, and a zealous worshipper of Viṣṇu. He likes to introduce or to mention Brāhmaṇical rites and ceremonies, and on every possible occasion he emphasises the exalted and prominent position of the Brāhmaṇas. The Pañcarātra begins with the description of a great sacrifice, of which there is no mention in the Mahābhārata. The poet evidently invented it, in order to describe the pageant of a grand Brāhmaṇical ceremony. Here we read also such sayings as: "The sacred fire does not suffer a worldly fire by its side, as the Brāhmaṇa does not suffer a Śūdra by his side."

Or: "The king should pour his whole wealth into the lap of the Brāhmaṇa, and leave only his bow to his sons." Bhīṣma, in order to prove that he was inferior to his teacher says to Droṇa: "You are a Brāhmaṇa and I am a warrior." In the Madhyamavyāyoga Ghaṭotkaca says: "I know, everywhere and ever the Brāhmaṇs are the most venerable on earth." In the Bālacarita, the chamberlain protests against the idea that he would say an untruth, whereupon Kaṃsa appeals to him by saying: "I acknowledge even the untrue word of a Brāhmaṇa as true." Obedience to the Brāhmaṇa is the main tendency of the Karṇabhāra, which is emphasised much more than in the Mahābhārata story. In the same play Karṇa says a benediction; "Cows and Brāhmaṇs may never perish;" For sacred as the Brāhmaṇs are the cows. Thus we read also in the Pañcarātra: "Not in vain is the effort in the front of the battle for the sake of the cows, even death in such a battle will bring fame, but if one sets them free it is a religious merit." And the old herdsman in the Bālacarita opens the Hallīśa dance with the song:

> "Ere the sun has risen,
> Bow in veneration your heads
> To the cows, the mothers of the world,
> Filled with drink of immortality."

The author of these plays also likes to show his knowledge of Brāhmaṇical customs and of the Śāstra. In the Madhyama one hears a call behind the scene: *Bhostāta* "O father" and the Sūtradhāra (stage-manager) says: "No doubt, it is a Brāhmaṇ, as he says *bhoḥ*." (The Dharmasāśtras teach that a Brāhmaṇ must be addressed by mentioning the name with the interjection *bhoḥ*.)

In the Dūtavākya and in the Bālacarita the poet shows himself as a devout Kṛṣṇa-worshipper in every line. In the Abhiṣekanāṭaka Rāma is throughout praised as the only God Viṣṇu or Nārāyaṇa.

In the second group of plays the Brāhmanism of the author is not so conspicuous, as in the first group, but there is nothing in them that should contradict the assumption that the author was a Brāhmaṇ and a Vaiṣṇava. In the introductory stanza of the Avimāraka Nārāyana is invoked and at the beginning of the first act the king enters saying: "The sacrifices have been offered and the best Brāhmaṇs are favourably inclined to me." In the introductory verse of the Svapnavāsavadattā Balarāma the brother of Kṛṣṇa, is invoked. The scene of the first Act is a hermitage, and it is full of Brāhmaṇical religiosity. A flight of cranes passing through the air is compared to the outstretched arms of

Baladeva. In the beginning of the Cārudatta, we find allusions to Brāhmaṇical sacrifices. Cārudatta himself is a Brāhmaṇ wearing the sacred thread, and sends Maitreya to bring offerings to the divine Mothers. In the introductory verse of the Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa, it is true, Skanda, the son of Śiva, is invoked, but only in order to bring about a pun on the name of Yaugandharāyana.

It may be taken for granted that Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa and Svapnavāsavadattā have the same author. They not only treat episodes of the same Udayana story, but the one is presupposed by the other. In Svapnav. (VI, 18) the king says: "To be sure, thou art Yaugandharāyaṇa. By thy endeavours, feigned madness, fights and cunning schemes taught in the science of politics—I have been rescued by thee, emerging out of all troubles." At the end of the Svapnavāsavadattā a picture is shown, in which the marriage of Udayana and Vāsavadattā is represented, and we are told that the marriage ceremony was thus performed *in effigie*, as it could not be performed in reality on account of Udayana's flight. The same detail is referred to in the Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa. It is not found in the Kathāsaritsāgara.

The two Rāma dramas show so many literal agreements, that it cannot be doubted that they are works of the same author. In both dramas Rāma is regularly called "the Ārya," and Sītā always addresses him by "āryaputra." Bharata says (in the Pratimānāṭaka, p. 118) that ārya is the usual address in the Ikṣvāku family."

In the Dūtavākya and in the Bālacarita the weapons of Kṛṣṇa appear on the stage in a similar manner. The Madhyamavyāyoga has its title from Bhīma being called "the middlemost" (Madhyama) of the Pāṇḍava brothers. In the Pañcarātra Bhīma is called by the same name.[1] In both these plays Bhīma calls his arms his weapons.

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[1] Bhīma as the second son of Kunti seems to be called the "middlemost." But among the five Pāṇḍu brothers Arjuna was really the Madhyama.

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That the plays have one author is also made probable by the fact, that certain words and phrases occur in all or several of them. I will only mention one word, which is of particular importance for the history of the Indian drama, the word *Yavanikā* which means the curtain of the theatre and also a carpet or curtain generally. Now in several of our plays this word occurs in the latter meaning. In the Pratimānāṭaka, the dying king Daśaratha swoons away at the end of the IInd Act then we have the stage direction: Kañcukīyo yavanikāstaraṇaṁ karoti, 'the chamberlain spreads a curtain out' (in order to cover the dead body) whereupon all the people present cry out: हाहा महाराज। हाहा महाराओ. A similar stage direction is found at the end of the Urubhaṅga, when Duryodhana has gone to heaven. In the last scene of the Svapnavāsavadattā Vāsavadattā is first recognised by the nurse behind a curtain, and then the king says: Saṃkṣipyatām Yavanikā, "let the curtain be drawn up," and then only he himself sees his beloved wife again. But if anybody should doubt, whether in these cases the theatre curtains or any other curtain be meant, there can be no doubt in a highly artificial verse of the Avimāraka, where the black clouds are compared to curtains hung up in front of the host of stars (bhagaṇayavanikāḥ).

It is also worth mentioning that in such small details, as the names of persons of secondary importance several of the plays agree with one another. Vijayā is the name of the female door-keeper in the Svapnavāsavadattā, in the Prajñāyaugandharāyaṇa and again in the two Rāma dramas. And the chamberlain both of Mahāsena in the Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa, and of Duryodhana is called Bādarāyana.

In several of the plays we find a predilection for certain descriptions, such as is generally found in works of one and the same poet. Most remarkable is the beautiful description of the darkness of the night in the first Act of the Bālacarita, in the 3rd Act of Avimāraka, and again in the first Act of the

Daridracārudatta. In Bālacarita and in the Daridracārudatta we find the verse which is also found in the Mṛcchakaṭika and has also been quoted by Daṇḍin in this Kāvyādarśa.

लिम्पतीव तमोऽङ्गानि वर्षतीवाञ्जनं नभः ।
असत्पुरुष सेवेव दृष्टिर्निष्फलतां गता ॥

"The darkness besmears, as it were, the body, the sky pours down as it were a rain of collyrium. Seeing has become useless like service for wicked men."

Some of the agreements between these plays are at the same time proofs of high antiquity. This applies especially to the language and above all to the *Prākrit* of the plays. It has been proved by Dr. V. Leshy, Dr. V. S. Sukthankar and by Dr. W. Printz, that the Prākrit in all these plays is more archaic than that of the classical plays that it has preserved forms of the 'Old Prākrit' which we find in the fragments of Buddhist dramas of Aśvaghoṣa and his time. As regards the Sanskrit all the plays share a number of solecisms, ungrammatical forms. Some of these are such as we also find in epic Sanskrit and this may account for their occurrence in the dramas of the first group. But we find them also, for instance, in the 'Cārudatta' where (as Dr. Sukthankar has shown) the author of the Mṛcchakaṭika has corrected them. It is true, we find solecisms also in the later writings, especially in narrative poetry. But on the whole especially when we compare the correctness of Kālidāsa's Sanskrit—I am inclined to take it as a sign of higher antiquity.

All the plays agree also with regard to the technique. They disregard the rules of the Nāṭyaśāstra in bringing scenes on the stage which would never occur in classical dramas: Duryodhana in the Urūbhaṅga, Daśaratha in the Pratimānātaka,[1] Vālin in the Abhiṣekanāṭaka die on the stage. In

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[1] That Daśaratha actually dies on the stage, though it is only said, that he swoons away, is shown by the lamentations हा हा महाराज which are not heard नेपथ्ये but are spoken on the scene रंगे.

Bālacarita the most violent scenes, fighting and slaying, take place on the stage. This is certainly archaic.

Another point of technique in which all the plays agree, is the rapidity in the progress of the action, for which the frequent stage direction *niṣkramya praviśya* is very characteristic. This accounts also for the shortness of all the plays, as compared with the classical dramas. Another point of agreement between all these plays is the frequent occurrence of the ākāśabhāsita, that is speaking with persons who do not actually appear on the stage, a kind of monologue, in which one person only speaks but repeats the speeches of other persons who are not on the stage, and answers them (of that kind is the Bhāṇa, which is described in the Nāṭyaśāstra, but of which we have examples only in later Sanskrit literature).

To mention only one more point of technique we find in the VIth Act of the Abhiṣekanāṭaka, that the description of the battle between Rāma and Rāvana is given by three Vidyādharas, each reciting one verse in turn. In the same way the sacrifice at the beginning of the Pañcarātra is described by *three* Brāhmaṇas, and in the Urubhaṅga again *three* heralds bring the news of the club fight between Bhîma and Duryodhana.

These are—it seems to me—strong reasons that make it at least highly probable, that all the thirteen plays have one and the same author. Now we have the verse of Rājaśekhara :—

भासनाटकचक्रेऽपि च्छेकैः क्षिप्ते परीक्षितुम् ।
स्वप्नवासवदत्तस्य दाहकोऽभून्न पावकः ॥

which I take to mean : "when the whole series of the dramas of Bhāsa was thrown (into the fire of criticism) by the critics, to test them, the fire proved unable to burn the Svapnavāsavadattā." From this verse we may justly conclude that Rājaśekhara knew Bhāsa as the author of a great number of plays, of which Svapnavāsavadattā was most highly appreciated by the critics who found faults in all the other plays. The anecdote current among Pundits, that the plays of Bhāsa were actually subjected to a fire ordeal, in which Svapnavāsavadattā alone survived, seems to me to be invented only through a misunderstanding of Rājaśekhara's verse. At any rate, we have no reason to reject the testimony of Rājaśekhara, that Bhāsa was the author of a famous drama *Svapnavāsavadattā*. Now as Gaṇapati Śāstri has found a collection of dramas, one of which not only has the title Svapnavāsavadattā, but is one of the finest dramas in Indian literature worthy of the name of Bhāsa, it seems to me not too bold an hypothesis, to ascribe this Svapnavāsavadattā to Bhāsa. If Prof. L. D. Barnett says, rejecting the theory of Gaṇapati Śāstrî, that "Probably half a dozen other poets have written plays on the same theme as the Svapnavāsavadattā," I challenge him to produce even three plays on exactly the same theme and with exactly the same title. As a rule, Indian poets do not choose the same titles for their works, when treating the same subjects, as their predecessors.[1] Barnett also speaks as if dozens of poets could have created such dramas as the Svapnavāsavadattā. I doubt this very much. But if we follow Gaṇapati Śāstrî in ascribing the Svapnavāsavadattā to Bhāsa, we shall also have to accept his theory that the other 12 plays are works of the same author, as I have shown, how highly probable it is that all the plays have one and the same author. The poet *Vākpati*, the author of the Prākrit poem *Gaudavaha* (about 800 A.D.) calls Bhāsa Jalanamitta or "friend of the fire." The epithet would be extremely appropriate for the author of our plays. For in the *Svapnavāsavadattā* the conflagration of Lāvāṇaka in which Vāsavadattā was reported to have perished forms the starting point of the drama. The *Pañcarātra* begins with a vivid description of a forest fire. In the *Abhiṣekanāṭaka* Sītā enters the fire, and her chastity is testified to by Agni himself. And again in the *Avimāraka* the hero throws himself into the flames of a forest fire, but the flames are cool as sandal-wood to him, and Agni embraces him as a father his son.

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[1] I shall have to mention a second Svapnavāsavadattā presently. But it is not certain and even highly improbable that it treated the same subject. It is more likely that it was a drama on the subject of Subandhu's 'Vāsavadattā' where Kandarpaketu and Vāsavadattā fall in love after having seen each other in a dream.

I have already pointed out some features in these dramas which are archaic and make it probable that they are earlier than the dramas of Kālidāsa. Another proof of the earlier date of these plays is, I believe, also to be found in the fact, that the court life of the kings is much simpler in them, than in the plays of Kālidāsa. King Udayana always appears only in the company of his friend, the Vidūṣaka, without any retinue. There is, for instance, no mention of the Greek women, who belong to the retinue of the king in Kālidāsa's dramas.

But though there are good reasons to believe that the author of our plays is older than Kālidāsa, we dare not go too far back. It is true, the language of these plays is on the whole simpler than that of Kālidāsa. Yet we find in them also proofs enough, that their author was quite familiar with the Kāvya style, especially in the Urubhaṅga and in the Avimāraka. We even find poetical figures (Alaṅkāras) which are more frequently found in later poetry, for instance the rhyme (yamaka). Occasionally we also find learned comparisons such as in the Pañcarātra (I, 10) where (in the description of the sacrifice) it is said, that frightened by the fire five serpents came out of the holes of an anthill, just as the five senses when a person dies, come out of the holes of his body. Or in Avimāraka (V, 1) where the princess is said to shine in beauty without her ornaments like the Veda that is free of logical reasoning (vedasrutir hetuvivarjiteva). The Mahābhārata was known to the author of the six plays in which the episodes of the epic are treated much in the form in which we have it now. In Dūtaghaṭotkaca (19) there is an allusion to the story of the Mahābhārata, that Bhīṣma of his own free will resolved to die and advised the Pāṇḍavas himself, how they could kill him. The story was certainly not part of the original Mahābhārata. The Virātaparvan also was known to the author of the Pañcarātra in the form in which we have it to-day. Rāma, as an incarnation of Viṣṇu, as he appears in the Abhiṣekanāṭaka, is not known in inscriptions of the pre-Christian time. In language and style the dramas are nearer to Kālidāsa than to Aśvaghoṣa. And as the latter most probably belongs to the second century A.D. and Kālidāsa lived in the later part of the fourth and the first half of the fifth century A.D., Bhāsa, if he is the author of our plays, can hardly be placed earlier than the end of the third or beginning of the fourth century A.D. I do not believe that he preceded Kālidāsa by more than a hundred years. To place Bhāsa before Pāṇini's time, as Gaṇapati Śāstrî does, is quite impossible. Not only are the arguments of Gaṇapati very weak, but it is impossible to assume that our dramas are separated from those of Kālidāsa by a millennium. Nor can I agree with Pandit Jayaswal and P. Chaudhuri, who have tried to make out—I am afraid with more imagination than historical facts,—that Bhāsa was the court poet of a Kāṇva King, Nārāyaṇa who ruled 53-71 B.C. It would take up too much time to show this in detail. But one of Jayaswal's arguments is, that Bhāsa knew another Mahābhārata than ours. This is certainly wrong. Where Bhāsa differs from our Mahābhārata, he has as a true dramatist changed the story freely for the sake of dramatic effect. And when Jayaswal says, that Bhāsa's language is absolutely free from the Kāvya artificialities, from alliteration, from long compounds,—all that is absolutely wrong. But also the arguments by which Sten Konow would place Bhāsa in the 2nd century A.D. are very weak. By a very weak hypothesis he places Sūdraka in the third century A.D. and by another weak hypothesis he assumes that the word Rājasiṃha in the Bharatavākya of some of our Bhāsa plays refers to a Kṣatrapa king Rudrasiṃha I, who ruled at the end of the 2nd century A.D. Two weak arguments combined do not make a strong argument. In my opinion Rājasiṃha, in these benedictions means, simply 'lion-like king' and does not refer to any particular king at all. But even if it did, there are among the Western Kṣatrapas alone three kings of the name Rudrasiṃha, one Satyasiṃha, one Siṃhasena and one Viśvasiṃha, who all ruled between 180 and 388 A.D. But Siṃha as part of a king's name is so frequent at all times, that it is mere guessing, if we choose one of the other of these kings to have been the patron of Bhāsa.

However, even if we can ascribe these plays to the 3rd or 4th century A.D. as I believe, we have to be contended with, this is in itself an argument for the authorship of Bhāsa. For we know of no other great dramatist of the time between Aśvaghoṣa and Kālidāsa.

Yet it must be admitted, that we have *no direct* proofs for the authorship of Bhāsa for these plays. You will have noticed, that I only mentioned Rājaśekhara as a witness for the Svapnavāsavadattā being the work of Bhāsa. If we turn to the pages of the introduction of Gaṇapati Śāstrī to his editions of the Svapnavāsavadattā and the Pratimānāṭaka you will find many more witnesses quoted. But, unfortunately, if you begin to cross-examine these witnesses, there is always some flaw in their evidence.

Vandyaghaṭīya Sarvānanda (about 1159 A.D.) in his commentary on the Amarakoṣa, refers to Svapnavāsavādattā but without mentioning its author. Abhinavagupta, who wrote at the end of the 10th and the beginning of the 11th century, mentions in his commentary to the Bhāratīya-Nātyasāstra both Svapnavāsavadattā (fem.) and Daridracārudatta, but again without their author's name. And the same Abhinavagupta in his Dhvanyalokalocana (3, 10 ff.) quotes a verse from a drama Svapnavāsavadatta, without mentioning an author's name, but this verse is not found in our Svapnavāsavadattā and cannot be taken from it for it is quoted as an example to show, that there are poets who only care for alaṃkāras without taking any regard of rasas (sentiments). This does certainly not apply to our drama. Vāmana (about 800 A.D.) quotes three verses, which occurs in our dramas,—one in Svapnavāsavadattā (IV, 7), the other in Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa (IV, 3), and one in Daridracārudatta (I, 2), but unfortunately he does not mention the source, from which the verses are taken. *Daṇḍin*, a still older author on poetics, quotes the verse *limpatīva*, etc., about the darkness of the night, which is found in two of our plays, but Daṇḍin also does not mention the source from which he has taken the verse. *Bhāmaha*, another old author on poetics, older even than Daṇḍin, refers to the subject of our Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa, but mentions neither title nor author of the drama.

A few months before his passing away the late Jaina saint Vijaya Dharma Suri had written to me, that he had acquired a MS. of the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* a work on dramaturgy, by *Rāmacandra* and *Guṇacandra*, the two pupils of Hemacandra. When I came to Shivpuri in Gwalior for the memorial ceremonies in honour of the saint towards the end of January of this year, I asked for this MS. and saw a copy of it. Going over the pages of this interesting work, I hit upon a quotation from 'the Svapnavāsavadattā of Bhāsa' (both title and author given: भासकृते स्वप्नवासवदत्ते). The king (Vatsarāja) says the verse quoted, while looking at the stone seat (śilātala) in the Śephālikāmaṇḍapa. The Śephālikā is mentioned in the 4th Act of our play, but I was much disappointed to find, that the verse does not occur in it. In the same Nātyadarpaṇa a Daridracārudatta-rūpaka is mentioned without the author's name. As the Mṛcchakaṭika is also quoted, we know at least, that in the 12th century A.D. there existed both a Daridracārudatta and a Mṛcchakaṭika.

That of all the verses which are ascribed to Bhāsa in the anthologies and elsewhere not one occurs in our plays, is also fatal. It is, of course, no proof against the authorship of Bhāsa—for the verses may occur in works of Bhāsa which are lost, or they may be wrongly ascribed to the poet but at any rate it is just a cause for doubts. It is also a strange fact, that in Somadeva Puri's Yaśastilaka a verse is quoted and ascribed to the Mahākavi Bhāsa, which we actually find in the Mattavilāsaprahasana of the Pallava prince Mahendravikramavarman who ruled about 620 A.D. The verse is quoted to characterise the Śāktas of the left head :

पेया सुरा प्रियतमामुखमवीक्षितव्यं
ग्राह्यः स्वभावललितो विकृतश्च वेषः ।
येनेदमीदृशमदृश्यत मोक्षवर्त्म
दीर्घायुरस्तु भगवान् स पिनाकपाणिः ॥

This verse does not and could not occur in any of our dramas. It is possible, of course, that Somadeva has ascribed the verse to Bhāsa by mistake ; it is also possible that Bhāsa has written a play, in which such a verse occurred and that Mahendravikrama cribbed it from there. But it is puzzling.

The Mattavilāsa-prahasana has been used by Barnett[1] as the basis of his hypothesis, that the anonymous plays found by Gaṇapati Śāstrī, are not the works of Bhāsa but were written by some unknown author or authors of the 7th century, the time of the Mattavilāsa. Barnett has pointed out, that this Mattavilāsa-prahasana begins in exactly the same way as the dramas ascribed to Bhāsa, namely, with the stage direction : *Nāndayante tataḥ praviśati sutradhāraḥ*, on which the Maṅgalaśloka follows. Gaṇapati Śāstrî has laid great stress on this beginning of the dramas. But I have shown that even dramas of the 10th and 12th centuries found in certain South Indian MSS., begin in the same way; I have also found the same beginning in a Malayalam MS. of the Śakuntala drama and it is also found in a MS. of the Mudrārākṣasa.

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[1] Barnett, however, was not aware of the quotation in the Yaśastilaka.

There is in fact no essential difference between these dramas and the classical dramas, but it is merely a matter of terminology. Every performance used to begin with the Purvaraṅga, religious ceremony with music and singing, performed behind the scene and ending with the *Nāndi*, a verse in praise of some deity. The Bhāratīya-Nātyaśāstra gives such a Nāndi, which was a simple prayer in ślokas. Our classical dramas begin with a *Nāndi* which is always a verse in metre and language of the Kāvya. Then follow the words: *nāndyante sutradhāraḥ.*

Now if these MSS. which all come from the Malabar coast, begin with the words: nāndyante tataḥ praviśati sūtradhāraḥ, this only means, that the *Nāndi* which forms the end of the Purvaraṅga was sung behind the scene and that after the singing of the Nāndi the Sutradhāraḥ entered and recited the verse with which the drama begins. This verse is not considered as the Nāndi by the writers of the Malabar MSS., but simply as an introductory verse, a maṅgala-śloka while in the other MSS. this verse also is called *Nāndi* or was considered as still belonging to the *Nāndi.*

The fact, therefore, that our plays begin with the words: nāndyante, etc., can no longer be quoted as an argument for the authorship of Bhāsa. Much less can it be used as an argument for ascribing it to the age of the Mattavilāsa-prahasana (7th century A.D.). And it is an unfounded assertion of Barnett, when he says that the Mattavilāsa is similar to the 'Bhāsa plays' also in other respects. We need only look at the prologue in the Mattavilāsa in which the name of the author and the title of the play are mentioned in the usual way and which is comparatively long to see the difference. The long compounds found in the prose of the

Mattavilāsa, are very rare in the Bhāsa plays. The Bharatavākya (final benediction) also is quite different.

In his review of my book (J. R. A. S., 1923, p. 722) Dr. Barnett refers to the mention of a *Nyāyaśāstra* by *Medhātithi* which in his opinion is 'almost certainly' the Manu Bhāṣya of Medhātithi. This is, I should say, 'almost certainly wrong.' Why the Manu-bhāṣya should be called a Nyāyaśāstra, is quite unintelligible. I am in full agreement with the late Mahāmahopādhyāy Satischandra Vidyābhusbaṇa who identifies the Medhātithi of Bhāsa with the Medhātithi Gautama, mentioned in the Śāntiparvan of the Mahābhārata, in whom he sees the founder of the Anvikṣikī.[1]

Summing up, we can state the case for and against the authorship as follows:

It appears highly probable that all the thirteen plays have *one* author. This author must have been a great poet and above all a dramatic genius. Kālidāsa and Bhababhuti may be greater poets, greater masters of language than the author of these plays, but I know in the whole of Sanskrit literature no drama that could compare as a stage play with any one of the thirteen plays ascribed to Bhāsa. All the classical dramas are more or less book dramas, while these plays are one and all the works of a born dramatist, wonderfully adapted to the stage. We have it on good authority, that Bhāsa was the author of a drama with the title *Svapnavāsavadattā*. If we take out *Svapnavāsavadattā* to be the work of Bhāsa, we shall also have to adopt the hypothesis that the other twelve plays are composed by the same author. This hypothesis is further supported by archaisms in the language of the thirteen dramas, more especially in the Prākrit, and by archaisms in the technique by which they differ from the Nātyaśāstra of Bharata. The epithet, given to Bhāsa by Vākpati, 'friend of the fire' fits very well for the author of our plays. Language and style of our dramas make it probable that they belong to the period between Aśvaghoṣa and Kālidāsa. And as Bhāsa is mentioned by Kālidāsa himself as his famous predecessor, the date that can be ascribed to the plays also supports the hypothesis that Bhāsa is their author.

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[1] A History of Indian Logic, Calcutta, 1921, p. 766.

But I can only speak of a *hypothesis.* For we cannot get over the facts, that the plays have come down to us *anonymously* ; that Rājaśekhara is the *only certain* witness for ascribing a *Svapnavāsavadattā* to Bhāsa ; that verses ascribed to Bhāsa in anthologies and elsewhere, even verses quoted from a Svapnavāsavadattā, are not found in our plays ; and that there are at least *some* passages in the plays, which show a highly developed *Kāvya style.*

If, in spite of all this, I still adhere to the hypothesis that Bhāsa *is* the author of these plays, the weightiest argument for me personally is this, that nearly all the plays are works of great poetical merit, worthy of the name of a Bhāsa. And let me say this : If it *should* finally be proved, that Bhāsa cannot be the author of these plays, they will yet always have to be counted among the most valuable treasures of Indian literature; and we should—even in this case—have every reason to be thankful to Mahāmahopādhyāya Gaṇapati Śāstrî, who has unearthed these treasures for us.[1]

M. WINTERNITZ

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[1] Readership Lecture delivered at the Calcutta University on 16th September, 1923.

MIDDLE CLASS UNEMPLOYMENT IN BENGAL[1]

Unemployment, as it is commonly understood, relates to the wage earning classes. It is a problem that affects the hired labourer as distinct from those who are called salaried men. We should not, however, suppose that this latter class of men are entirely free from the evils of unemployment, but the fact is that though unemployment is present to some extent among them it is usually not so serious a problem as in the case of the hired labourer. This is the reason why the word unemployment is usually associated with them.

All unemployment is the result of the maladjustment between the demand and the supply of labour. When the supply of a commodity that is bought and sold in a market is larger than the demand for it, some part of it must remain unsold. Labour is also a similar commodity that is bought and sold in the labour market. When the supply of labour exceeds the demand some part of it cannot find purchasers and this unsold amount of labour represents the volume of unemployment.

This excess of the supply of labour over the demand may be brought about by either a change in the side of supply or a change in the side of demand. An increase of supply, demand remaining the same, or a fall in demand, supply remaining unchanged, will create this excess and therefore unemployent. If the supply of labour were perfectly elastic so that whenever a change in demand took place supply could at once adjust itself to it, unemployment would not arise. But the elasticity of the supply of all commodities is far from perfect and the supply of labour is less elastic than that of most other commodities. In fact one of the chief peculiarities of labour is that its supply can only be very slowly increased or decreased.

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[1] A public lecture delivered at the Dacca University on February 22, 1924.

Industrial fluctuations are the main cause of the unemployment of the labouring classes. In a period of activity the demand for labour is large but in a period of depression it falls. The labour supply adjusts itself to the demand in the booming period and consequently when the depression comes it is larger than the actual demand. The excess of supply over demand is thus created and unemployment arises.

Since the most important cause of the unemployment of the hired labourers is fluctuations in trade and industry, it is like them a periodic phenomenon. It occurs in a period of depression but it practically disappears when the boom comes in. The peculiarity of the middle class unemployment in Bengal is that it is not a periodic but a chronic evil. It is present in a period of depression, it is no less present in a period of activity. What is more important is that it has been steadily growing with the progress of time.

In the absence of suitable statistics we cannot measure the extent and intensity of the unemployment of the middle classes in Bengal, but some light on the matter can be thrown by an examination of the conditions of their present employment. The question of unemployment is closely bound up with the question of employment and a mere review of unemployment does not tell the whole story. The evils of unemployment are only a part of the total evils that arise in connection with it. The same set of causes that have brought about the present unemployment of the middle classes in Bengal have also considerably depressed the market price of their services. Thus unemployment has brought distress not only on the unemployed but also on the employed by reducing their income.

A university graduate can now be obtained on Rs. 30 a month, a sum which is hardly sufficient to meet his expenses during the university course. The real significance of this money income becomes clear when one takes into account the enormous rise in prices. Compared with the pre-war basis the general level of prices in India is at the present time 80 % higher. Thirty rupees at the present time is, therefore, equal to about seventeen rupees before the war. It is interesting and highly significant that when a Bengali parent sends his boy to a school or college and invests money on his education he expects the return to his investment to come mainly from the marriage market rather than from the general market for labour.

When the prices of commodities rise the price of labour follows suit. The general rise in prices created by the war has been accompanied by a rise in the wages of labour in this country. Other things being equal we should expect a similar rise in the earnings of the middle classes in Bengal but instead of an upward movement there has been a fall.

The condition of the uneducated part of the middle classes is hardly better than that of the educated. The difference lies not so much in the economic distress that has seized them or in the extent of unemployment from which they suffer, as in the fact that these things find a better expression in the case of the educated than in that of the uneducated section of the middle classes. While the educated young man clamours against the social and political system as being the root of all his troubles, the uneducated man takes the misery in which he finds himself as his unalterable lot in life. He does not obtrude his grievances on the public but suffers in obscurity. His earnings are often less than those of the unskilled labourer. Being a member of the middle class he has a higher social status and has got to maintain an outwardly respectable show of things, and this weighs him down all the more.

Circumstances leading to the present situation.

Let us now examine the causes that have brought about the present situation. The popular explanation of this is short and simple. It lays all the blame on the educational system of the province. First of all it is said that the University has been providing mainly cultural education which has become entirely unsatisfactory in respect of earning a livelihood. In the next place it is maintained that by adopting a low standard of examination it has artificially swelled the number of educated men. Thus on the one hand the supply of educated men has been largely increased, and on the other hand their education has been of a character which equips them badly for the struggle for life.

The original object of introducing Western education in the country was to manufacture a number of English knowing officers for the administration of the country. A system of cultural education was therefore calculated to serve the purpose and for a long time the educational system satisfied this purpose well. The demand for education came chiefly from those who wanted to secure administrative posts, and those who received Western education were easily provided. But with the growth of the middle classes and their increasing economic distress the struggle for life became harder and the number of men who came up for education in order to secure employment provided by the state steadily increased. The number of appointments at the disposal of the government fell much short of the number of men who sought them and so many were disappointed. It is from this time that a hostile feeling against the educational system of the province was created.

The popular theory of unemployment of the middle classes though simple and plausible does not give the complete explanation of it. The educational system is only partially responsible for the present situation. A closer analysis of the circumstances of the case reveals the fact that there are other important contributory factors. We have seen above that unemployment is the result of an excess of supply over demand. Let us examine the effect of the educational system on the demand and the supply of the educated middle class men in Bengal. So far as the one sided character of the educational system is concerned it cannot be said to have increased the supply of educated men. If instead of being thus only cultural it would be both cultural and vocational the total number of educated men in the province would be larger than what it is to-day. With regard to the other charge that the low standard of examinations has increased the number of educated men, it cannot but be admitted that it has had that effect to a large extent. The raising of the percentage of successes has directly increased the number of successful men and secondly this cheapening of the degrees has attracted a larger number of men to receive them in the same way as the cheapening of a commodity tends to increase the number of purchasers.

No. of Scholars in Bengal

	In colleges		In H. E. schools
1921	24 (thousand)	...	209 (thousand)
1911	11 „	...	125 ,
1901	8 „	...	93 „

From the above table it will be clear that there has been a very large increase in the total number of scholars both in H. E. Schools and in Colleges and that the increase in the decade between 1911 and 1921 has been much larger than that in the preceding decade.

Mass education in Bengal as in the whole of India is extremely backward. Ninety per cent. of the population of the province over the age of five were found illiterate in 1921. Conditions are very different with the middle classes who, to quote Mr. Rushbrook Williams, "constitute the bulk of the intelligentsia and are in point of numbers at least educated to a pitch equal to that of countries whose social and economic conditions are far more highly developed." Speaking of a single province like Bengal he says, "with a population approximately equal to that of the United Kingdom, the proportion of the educated classes who are taking full time

University courses is almost ten times as great as in England."[1]

It is clear that spread of education among the middle classes in Bengal has been very extensive. Whatever may be the other causes at work, there is no doubt that the examination policy has a distinct share in it. But it should also be noted here that though the educational system is partly responsible for the growth in the number of the educated middle class men, the total supply of the middle class men, educated and uneducated, has not been much affected by it. By increasing the number of educated men in the province it has rendered difficult the problem of their employment, but in so far as it has done so it has relieved the unemployment of the rest of the middle class. Competition for employment among the uneducated part of the middle class has been diminished by the diversion of a larger number of them receiving education into a different field of employment.

On the side of demand the effect of the educational system has not been to directly decrease it. On the other hand it has in one direction at least increased that demand substantially. The rapid increase in the number of scholars called for an increase in the number of educational institutions and in the number of teachers. This increase in the number of institutions is very striking in the school department where the total number of H. E. schools increased from 410 in 1911 to 908 in 1921.

Though the unpractical character of the education has not diminished the demand for the services of the educated middle class people we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that it has failed to increase that demand as it might have done. Herein lies the defect of the educational system. If there had been in the province a better provision of technical and vocational education a considerably larger number of the middle classes could have been employed in the trade and industry of the country.

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[1] India in 1921-1922.

Responsible as it may be to some extent the educational system of the province is not the sole cause of this rapid growth of the number of educated men in the province. If the degree has become cheaper the prospects of earnings also have considerably fallen and the attractiveness of education comes more from the prospects of earnings than from the chance of success in examination. The very fact that in spite of this heavy fall in the expected earnings the number of young men who are seeking admission to the universities is steadily increasing, suggests that there is some powerful force which is driving them into this channel. The average middle class young man finds the choice of occupation very limited. He comes to the university not with any great enthusiasm but often with some reluctance. The phenomenal success of the boycott propaganda regarding educational institutions which was started recently reflects this psychology of the student mind. The Bengali student knew that in leaving his educational institution he was not going to lose much and was easily carried away by the movement.

Natural increase of numbers.

The first important direct cause of the middle class unemployment is the natural growth of numbers. This growth of numbers has been larger than the growth of the means of livelihood. An excess of supply over demand has been created. One of the outstanding characteristics of Indian social condition is the universality of marriage. Only one per cent. of the females between twenty-five and thirty years are unmarried in Bengal while in England and Wales twenty-one per cent. of the females between thirty-five and for remain so. In the next place, even amongst the midd classes in Bengal marriage precedes the attainment of puberty by the girl in almost all cases and during the whole of the reproductive period she lives with her husband and begets children. In Western countries especially among the middle classes marriage takes place long after the reproductive period begins and during the intervening period a girl remains unproductive. It has been estimated that the fecundity of the middle class section of the population in Bengal is nearly double than that of the same class in Western countries.[1]

There are however some counteracting forces. The custom which prohibits the remarriage of widows among the Hindus exercises a check on the growth of numbers. Secondly the death rate even among the middle classes in is country is higher than that among the corresponding sses in the West.

Abstinence from Agriculture.

Agriculture is by far the largest industry in Bengal. "The produce of the soil is the direct means of support of no less than 77% of the total population of Bengal." But it is a pity that the middle class people have practically taken no direct share in this the most important industry of the province. The original reasons for this abstinence of the middle classes from exploiting the resources of the soil were probably economic. There was not such large and urgent need for employment and what was actually needed could be found in directions more congenial and lucrative. Originally a matter of choice based on the comparative advantages of different occupations, it slowly crystallised into a custom and associations of social prestige and dignity grew around it.

Whatever may be the cause of this non-participation of the middle classes in agriculture its effects are very important and far reaching. The economic condition of a large and growing middle class population cannot be prosperous in a country where it has no employment in that industry which alone supports more than three quarters of the total population. There might come from this industry a large demand for the services of the middle class men and in that case the problem of their unemployment would not assume such a serious form as it has done to-day. This abstinence from agriculture has also made it practically impossible for the middle classes to take to it in the future owing to the difficulty of finding land to a sufficiently large extent within the province.

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[1] Census Report, Bengal, 1921. The statistics given here are mostly taken from the Census Reports.

Permanent settlement in Bengal was a permanent renu ciation of the right of the state to receive the growing u earned income from land. Since the fixing of the la revenue in 1793 the economic rent of land in Bengal immensely increased but this increased unearned income land has gone to the Zamindars, the middle men, a ryots. One effect of this permanent fixing of the revenue was to make land a very covetable source of inc and people who had money to do so eagerly invested it on There came into existence a numerous class of middle men different stages and the process of subinfeudation went on until at the present time in some of the districts of Bengal we find more than a dozen grades of middle rights between the Zamindar who pays revenue to the Government and the actual cultivator. A large landed middle class was thus created which depended mainly on the income from land.

As time went on numbers increased, the estates were subdivided and disintegrated, and the income of the landed middle class family shrank. The total number of the rent receiving class in Bengal was, 1,319,302 in 1921. Taking the average size of the family to be of six members the landed income of each family of the landlrod class has been estimated at less than 45 rupees a month.[1] When we remember that a small number of great landlords consume a large proportion of the total income from land the monthly income of the rest of the landlord families must be considerably less than 45 rupees.

The result of this fall in the income of the family was that the landed middle class became increasingly dependent on other sources of income and began to compete with the ess middle classes for employment.

Employment in landed estates.

A large class of the less educated middle class men nd employment in landed estates as managers, naibs, hildars, clerks, but here also the scope for employment has been narrowed down. The total number of all such employees of the landlords in Bengal including peons, etc., was 76 thousand in 1911 but it fell to 46 thousand in 1921. The Bengal landlord never paid to his officers and men more than a mere nominal salary or wage. They agreed to serve on such insufficient remuneration because they could supplement it largely by subsidiary incomes which had become customary. But all these subsidiary incomes were the outcome of illegal exactions. There has been lately an awakening in the cultivating classes which has made them restive in meeting such illegal demands of the landlord's agents. The total number of men that can be maintained by such subsidiary incomes in landed estates has, therefore, been reduced.

There is also another circumstance which has tended to diminish the employment of such men in landed estates. In some of the districts of Bengal a record of rights has been prepared by the settlement department and where this has been done the work of collecting rent has become much easier, so that there is not now the necessity of keeping so large a number of collecting agents as in former times.

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[1] Census Report, Bengal, 1921.

Employment in Industries.

Unlike agriculture industries have absorbed a part of the middle classes. The total number of Indians employed in industrial establishments in Bengal as managers, supervisors, and clerks was 20 thousand in 1921. Of this by fa largest number are clerks. But the industrial developr has as yet been quite inadequate. This is clear fro the very great preponderance of the agricultural industr Speaking about India the Industrial Commission sa "The industrial system is unevenly and in most cases inadequately developed and the capitalists of the country with a few notable exceptions have till now left to other nations the work and the profit of manufacturing her valuable raw materials or have allowed them to remain undeveloped." This view is further strengthened by the recent Fiscal Commission who maintain that the industrial development in India has not been commensurate with the size of the country, its population and its natural resources. This opinion which they express on India is also quite applicable to Bengal. The only important factory industry in the province is the manufacture of jute and it gives employment to a fairly large number of the middle class men. The other organised industries in the province have either just sprung up or have made very little progress and consequently cannot provide any large number of the middle classes.

Notonly the industrial progress has been inadequate but the share that has been taken in it by the Bengalis is insignifi Unlike the Parsis in Western India they have left the of pioneering and controlling industries almost wholly to the foreigners. The predominance of the foreign element is visible in practically all the modern industries of the province. The manufacture of jute which is the premier industry in the province is entirely in the hands of the Europeans. Conditions are not much better in engineering, paper, coal, flour and other industries. Since the control and management of these industries are chiefly in the hands he foreigners, it is inevitable that the more responsible erative of the appointments should be held by them. ld be remembered that a reduction in the prepon- of the foreign element in the control of the indus- of Bengal would not increase the employment of middle class Bengalis to a very large extent so far as number is concerned. The total number of Europeans and Anglo-Indians employed in industrial establishments is four thousand, so that even a complete elimination of this element would provide not more than four thousand Bengalis of the middle classes. We should also not forget that the work of introducing modern industries has been performed by the Europeans, and the present demand for the services of middle class Bengalis in industrial establishments was created by them first. On the other hand, a large share taken by the Bengalis in the control of the industries would, apart from increasing the volume of employment for the middle classes, considerably increase their wealth by the retention of the large profits that are now going to the foreigners.

Employment in trade and commerce.

Turning from the industries to trade and commerce we meet with a picture which is hardly more encouraging. The typical bhadralok in Bengal has in the past never cared to enter that field of employment. To be a merchant or a shopkeeper was in his opinion not equal to the social position he occupied. The work of distributing the wealth of the province was performed by the trading section of the middle class. But here also we find that the Bengali merchant is being ousted by the outside mercantile classes. This is particularly noticeable in the wholesale and the external trade of the province. That the English should have a large share in the external trade of the province is not surprising when we remember that they first came to this country as traders. What is more surprising and significant is the adve establishment of the mercantile communities from provinces particularly the Marwaris from Rajputana. requires to pay a visit to the northern part of Calc realise how large a Marwari colony has grown up there an what an important part they play in the trade and commerce of that city. Already financially strong they have grown much stronger by the opportunities afforded by the war. Their increased financial power has led them to turn their activities from trade and commerce to other directions such as banking and manufacture.

Originally confined more or less to Calcutta the enterprising Marwaris have spread themselves all over Bengal. The ubiquitous Bikanir trader is to be seen even in the remotest town in Bengal carrying on various kinds of business from mony-lending to trading of all sorts. While he is increasing his hold on the trade and commerce of the province the Bengali merchant is losing his. What is the secret of his success we cannot say but there seems to be little doubt that he is more industrious, enterprising and persevering than the Bengali.

Employment of outsiders in Bengal.

Statistics of migration to Bengal from outside throw some interesting light on the employment of outsiders in Bengal.

No. of persons born outside but found in Bengal (in thousands).

Province or Country.	1921.	1911.
Bihar and Orissa	1228	1252
U. P.	343	406
Nepal	87	107
Assam	69	67
C. P.	55	21
Rajputana	48	37
Madras	37	14
The Punjab and Delhi	18	19
Europe	13	14
Bombay	11	8
Burma	2	3

It is clear from the above table that the largest number of immigrants come from Bihar and Orissa and U. P. but those who come from these provinces are employed as labourers, coolies, darwans, domestic servants and do not, therefore, compete with the middle classes. For the same reasons the figures for Nepal, Assam and C. P. are not important for our purpose. Most of the immigrants from Rajputana and Bombay and a considerable part of those who come from the Punjab and Delhi are men of the mercantile classes who come here to trade. A large proportion of those who come from Madras are employed in the railways and mercantile offices and therefore compete with the middle class men in Bengal.

We find on the whole that those immigrants who compete with the middle classes have been increasing. The most significant increase is in the case of Rajputana, the number rising from 37 thousand to 48 thousand. This represents the larger current of Marwari merchants from Bikanir and Jaipur to Bengal. The real strength of this community in Bengal must be larger than what is indicated by the above figures. Unlike the other immigrants the Marwaris have adopted Bengal more particularly Calcutta as the land of their settlement. Consequently a large proportion of the younger generation must have been born in Calcutta and have, therefore, been excluded from this list.

Employment of Bengalis outside Bengal.

We have seen above that the immigration of men who compete with the middle classes from other provinces has in the last few years increased. Let us now examine the emigration of Bengalis to the other provinces.

No. of persons born in Bengal and found in other provinces (in thousands).

	Bihar & Orissa.	U. P.	Assam.	C. P.	Madras.	The Punjab.	Bombay.	Burma.
1911...	165	26	194	6	6	4	7	136
1921...	117	19	396	3	3	6	8	146

The above table tells us that emigration to Assam, the Punjab and Delhi, Bombay and Burma has increased while that to the other provinces has decreased. The greatest rise has taken place in the case of Assam but this does not indicate any increased employment of the middle class Bengalis there. The increase is due to the large emigration of Bengal agriculturists to the Assam Valley. Burma also shows a substantial increase but this also does not represent any larger outflow of middle class men. The emigration to Burma is seasonal and consists of large current of people from Chittagong and to some extent from Noakhali and Tippera who go to Burma to gather the rice harvest and come back after a few months. There remain only two other provinces Bombay and the Punjab and Delhi which show some increase. Increased emigration to the Punjab and Delhi is probably due to the transfer of the capital from Calcutta to Delhi while in the case of Bombay the rise which has taken place on both sides is due to the greater business connection between Calcutta and Bombay. On the other hand, we find a general decrease in all the other provinces.

Leaving out of consideration Burma and Assam for the reasons stated above, we find the total number of emigrants from Bengal to the other provinces has fallen from 217 thousand to 158 thousand. There is a clear fall of 60 thousand Bengalis, mostly of the middle classes, who are supported by the other provinces.

The main reason for this heavy fall in the number of middle class emigrants from Bengal to the other provinces is the growth of an interprovincial jealousy. There was a time when the educated Bengali was highly sought for in the other provinces to fill up ministerial posts. But progress of education in each of them has brought forth indigenous upply of men who can do such work. The middle class Bengali has, therefore, become not only unncessary but is now looked upon as an undesirable rival in the field of employment. A hostile feeling against the Bengalis as against all ~~outsiders has been cre~~ated in all the provinces. The fall in the number of middle class Bengalis who are supported by the other provinces is the direct result of this hostile attitude and the deliberate policy of excluding from appointments all outsiders.

Increased competition from the Mahomedans.

An important factor affecting the employment of the educated Hindu middle classes is the increasing competition for appointments from the Mahomedan community. The Mahomedans were in the past much behind the Hindus in respect of western education and this fact gave most of the government appointments to the latter. But recently there has been a rapid spread of education among the Mahomedans and the number of suitable men for filling up such posts has largely increased. The growing number of educated Mahomedans is also bringing to the front the question of their employment. A larger proportion of the appointments at the disposal of the government is, therefore, being given to the Mahomedans and correspondingly a smaller proportion is being filled up by the Hindus.

Public administration and the liberal arts.

In Bengal the principal occupations of the middle classes are service, the liberal professions and trade. Some of those occupations have been discussed above. Statistics of others which are available in suitable form are given below.—

Total number of workers and dependents (in thousands)

Occupation	*1901*	*1911*	*1921*
Pub. administration (St. service) ...	111	117	115
Education	74	96	113
Law	54	75	87
Medicine	139	163	177
Religion	325	311	310

Religion supports a very large number of middle classes who are priests. The number supported by it has somewhat diminished. In public administration also there is a fall. Education, Law, and Medicine show an increase but the increase is much smaller in the decade between 1911 and 1921 than in the preceding decade. The rise in the number of persons supported by education reflects the increase in the total number of students and the consequent increase in the need for teachers.

Law is the last resource of the Bengali graduate. There is hardly any doubt that the average income of the lawyer in Bengal has considerably fallen. But in spite of this fall in income there has been a large increase in the number of persons who depend on it. The explanation of this lies in the fact that the opportunity of employment in other directions has been diminishing. The Bengali graduate adopts the legal profession not for any love of it but is actually driven to it by the force of circumstances. When he fails in other directions he seeks shelter under law.

Some suggestions : Reduction of supply.

Since unemployment is the result of an excess of supply over demand the remedy against it must lie in removing this excess. This may be done either by reducing the supply or by increasing the demand. But in a country where marriage is considered a sacred duty and to beget a son is believed to secure the salvation of the soul after death voluntary reduction of supply to any sufficient extent is extremely difficult. It is indeed true that spread of education among the middle classes has to some extent dispelled such ideas but still they exercise a considerable sway on the minds of the average middle class man.

A voluntary reduction of numbers can be brought about by a postponement of marriage and by the control of birth. But at present there does not seem to be any indication of birth control even among the middle classes in Bengal. There is, however, a distinct tendency to the postponement of marriage but postponement of marriage unless it is carried beyond the age of puberty does not exercise any check on the growth of numbers. As yet the average age of marriage among the middle classes precedes the attainment of puberty by the girl and therefore the rise in the age of marriage that has taken place has not exercised any influence on the birth rate.

Checking the Spread of Education.

A check on the spread of education such as by raising the percentage of failures in examinations will reduce the number of educated men and will, therefore, diminish unemployment among them. Within a certain limited extent it may be desirable to do so but to do it in any large measure is neither wise nor expedient. In the first place, it is only a partial remedy which can give some relief to one section at the cost of another. A forced reduction in the number of educated men will correspondingly increase the number of men of the middle classes who will remain uneducated and will, therefore, increase the volume of unemployment among them. The total volume of unemployment among the middle classes cannot be reduced by a check on the spread of education. Moreover, forces are already at work which are tending to check the growth of educated men. The fall in the earnings of educated men and the unemployment from which they are suffering take away much of the charm from education. The fact that in spite of this there is a steady increase in the number of scholars only reflects the very deplorable condition of the uneducated middle class men. Secondly, man is the end of all human activities. The attainment of that end requires the development of his intellectual side. A country cannot expect to gain anything by merely increasing the intellectual deadness of its people.

Increasing the demand: Agriculture.

Regulation of supply carried to a sufficient length can remove unemployment but such large reduction in supply is not practicable. What is more important is to relieve unemployment by increasing the demand for the services of the middle class men—by widening the scope of their employment. We have seen that agriculture which is the largest industry of the province and which supports 77 per cent. of the total population does not directly give any employment to the middle classes. It has, therefore, been suggested that the educated middle class young men by taking up agriculture cannot only solve the problem of their unemployment but also do much good to the country by introducing improved and scientific cultivation. The possibilities in this direction are, however, very limited. The insuperable obstacle in the way is the land system of the province. Almost the whole of the land under cultivation is held by the numerous class of cultivators in small and detached plots. As the land is the only source of his income the Bengal cultivator sticks to his land like anything. If the middle class young men are to adopt agricultural occupation they must take the land out of the hands of the cultivators who will thus be converted into landless labourers. Apart from the question of the expediency of such a step we have to consider whether it is practicable. How is it possible to oust the present holders of land in face of the tenancy laws of the province acting in favour of them ?

If the middle class young man is to look to agriculture for employment he must find land outside Bengal. The province of Assam offers in this respect a great opportunity which has been largely utilised by the cultivators of the Mymensingh district. During the ten years from 1911 to 1921 the current of migration from Mymensingh to the Assam Valley has carried altogether one hundred and fifty thousand people almost all of them being Mahomedan cultivators. They have permanently settled there and have gone by entire families. There is still a vast expanse of land awaiting exploitation which can be taken up by the educated middle class men from Bengal. But it should be noted here that some sort of organisation is absolutely necessary for the purpose. It is futile to leave it entirely to individual initiative and action. There are many difficulties which baffle individual attempts but which can be easily overcome when these attempts are organised. Ignorance, unfamiliarity, inertia and the dangers and difficulties of a distant land lose much of their force when migration takes place in batches and under the direction and guidance of a strong organisation. The recent attempt made by the Anglo-Indians for colonising the Andamans is in this connection instructive.

A strong and able organisation can do much to facilitate such migration by collecting necessary information, securing capital, making arrangement for the lands, and in many other ways.

Industries.

Possibilities of employment of middle class men in industries are much greater than in agriculture. It has been already said that the organised modern industries of Bengal are employing twenty thousand middle class Indians mostly in the capacity of clerks. But as yet the industrial development in the province is very inadequate. It is highly desirable not only from the standpoint of the employment of the middle classes but also from the general economic interest of the country that there should be a more rapid industrialisation. One of the defects of the industrial development in Bengal was found to be the relative insignificance of the share of the Bengalis in it. The ideal of industrial self-sufficiency demands that the sons of the soil should have a dominant control in the industries and trade of the province.

At present there is a standing need for the services of technical experts for the industries and this is being satisfied by importing men from foreign countries. This is the position not only in Bengal but in the whole of India. With the progress of industrial development this need for technical experts will also increase. It is extremely desirable that satisfactory arrangement should be made within the country for the training of technical experts. The provision of such education will not only relieve middle class unemployment but will also be of material advantage to the future industrial progress of the country. As the Industrial Commission say "The continuance of conditions which force the industrialists of the country to import so many of their subordinate supervising staff is clearly most undesirable. They form a serious handicap to progress and militate against the ideal of an industrially self-sufficing India."

Small Industries.

Development of large organised industries will certainly increase the demand for the services of the middle class Bengalis but it should be remembered that the educated young Bengali cannot expect to take the initiative in this matter. He cannot himself start new enterprises which require a large command of capital and a considerable amount of experience and organising power. While, therefore, he will look to the big capitalists and industrialists of the country to start new enterprises and to demand his services as clerk, foreman, supervisor, technical expert or manager there is another field of industrial expansion where he can without much difficulty set up as an independent business man. Progress of technique and other influences are tending to increase the size of the representative business unit in many industries but there are still other forces which are working in favour of the smaller man and which are, therefore, enabling him to survive, and where labour is cheap the advantage of the large business is not so decided. The wonderful industrial progress of Japan has been mainly achieved through small businesses. There are, however, two obstacles which require to be overcome—the supply of capital and the provision of some technical training. That the Government should recognise a greater responsibility for the provision of technical education has been emphasised by the Industrial Commission. The difficulty about capital requires a very large development of industrial banking in the country. For the purposes of the small industrialists a good deal of assistance can be rendered by the co-operative industrial banks. The progress of co-operative banking in

India has been chiefly in the direction of agricultural credit societies. It is not intended in any way to minimise the supreme importance of co-operative agricultural banking but for the expansion of small industries a more rapid progress of co-operative industrial banking is absolutely necessary.

Trade and Commerce.

There is a good deal of scope for the employment of the middle class Bengalis in trade and commerce. The Bengali trader, as it has been said above, is being gradually displaced by the external mercantile classes, specially the Marwaris who have spread over the whole of Bengal. It is high time that the Bengali merchant should realise the consequence of this outwardly imperceptible change and should try to make a stand against this dangerous and steady invasion of the outsiders on the trade and commerce of the province. At the same time it is highly desirable that the educated Bengalis should shake off this former unreasonable attitude and should go in large number for trade and commerce. Instead of running after a twenty-five rupee appointment they should try to set up as independent business men. What is first of all necessary for this purpose is that they should recognise the dignity of honest labour. Their general education and their trained faculties instead of being a handicap as in the past will help them to a considerable extent.

K. B. SAHA

ORNITHOLOGY IN INDIA

II

The practice of keeping birds in captivity in India dates back to very ancient times. The Vedic literature of the Hindus contains many references to several *talking* birds, like the Mynas and the Parrots, which were regarded as common favourites in those days. Even the women-folk treated them as indispensable companions. Allusion is also found in some Vedic books (*vide* Mr. Law's book entitled *Pakhir-Katha*, pp. 5-9) to some albino or lutino specimens of the species mentioned above, which were sacrificed at the altars of particular deities. Pigeons were regarded as household birds of good omen. Authentic testimony which history furnishes to the Indian custom of caging Parrots is traceable to the time of the invasion of India by Alexander the Great. This Emperor took back with him, when he returned to Greece after his success, a number of Ring-necked Parrots which are known to this day as "Alexandrine" Paroquets. The historian Ælian tells us that "In India there were many parrots which were held sacred by the Brahmans, because they could imitate human speech, and which were therefore neither killed nor captured by the Indians." This statement, however, is not wholly true, because the talking propensity of the bird was discovered in its state of captivity, and as a matter of fact, there is no sentiment among the people against the practice of caging that bird. In the latter part of the 15th century A. D. these Indian Parrots were freely exported to Europe by the Portuguese, who had discovered the Cape route to India, and possessed themselves of a great part of India and Ceylon. The Muhammadan Emperors of India were very fond of cage-birds. Several of them were addicted to hawking, and therefore made elaborate arrangements for housing several kinds of Hawks. The Hindu Kings were not free from this hobby either, and one of them was so zealous that he made a systematic study of the subject, and wrote a book on hawking, in which not only the habits and qualities of several species of falcons in reference to hawking were set forth, but also the ways and means by which they may be caught, tamed, trained and best housed were dealt with. Akbar took a great interest in bird-keeping. He had several aviaries and a vast number of Pigeons. The first attempt at cross-hybridization in India is probably that of Akbar, who succeeded in raising the "Fantail" Pigeon, so widely appreciated now-a-days by pigeon-fanciers (*vide* Darwin's *Animals and Plants under Domestication*). Sanskrit literature is full of references to the practice of bird-keeping, which struck its roots so far and wide among the people of India, that we find no diminution of the popular ardour even at the present day. Birds are kept in India not only for their song or talking propensities—their sporting or fighting merits are also appreciated. Partridges, Quails and game-cocks comprise the favourite fighters. The Bulbul is another fighting bird. A season is set apart every year for indulging in this hobby, and the professional bird-catchers make it a point of snaring bulbuls at the fighting-season. Even so small a bird as the Common Avadavat or Indian Red Munia (*Amandava amandava amandava*) is trained to fight.

The long-established habit of caging birds has developed into a tradition which is hedged round with a halo of sanctity. The method followed in providing accommodation and food for cage-birds is in conformity with this tradition, so that the Indian bird-fancier never dreams of attempting innovations. Small wicker cages are invariably provided with a linen cover, and the staple food is *satoo*,[2] which is either fried in *ghee*,[3] or soaked in water to form a paste. Grains, fruits, insects

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[1] Bird-lime.

[2] Ground meal.

[3] Clarified butter.

and meat are also provided, to suit the nature of the birds which are sought to be caged. The bird-keepers in India are, of course, ignorant of European methods of keeping pets, but tradition leads them to follow the methods which have been found suitable to achieve the ends they have in view. The Indian birds also adapt themselves in a remarkable degree to the new environments in which they are placed, and, it is said, their faculties show to best advantage in captivity.

Aviculture, as we understand it, is only a later phase of bird-keeping. This word was first coined and used by the founders of the Avicultural Society of London in the latter part of the 19th century. The object of this Society is to encourage birds to breed in captivity, and, while thus circumstanced (*i.e.*, in a congenial place wherefrom all hostile elements are eliminated), to study their habits and other biological or ornithological phenomena with a view to adding to our knowledge of bird-life. Foreign birds are sought to be freely imported and studied in captivity. Before this Society propounded its scheme, bird-keeping in Europe followed an artificial standard which precluded the scientific study of the habits of birds. It was rightly designated "fancy," and the "fanciers," while bent on mule-breeding, sought, for example, to develop uniformity of colour-marks in a bird's plumage. Canary and mule-breeding were the principal features of this "fancy." The aim of "fancy" was the breeding and exhibition of specimens which would, as closely as possible, conform to some artificial type. Aviculture, on the other hand, is one method of the practical application of the science of ornithology; indeed, Mr. Law thinks that aviculture may well be called "Applied Ornithology." Aviculture includes in its province the acclimatization and breeding of imported species, and the study of the habits of all species, local or foreign, especially in a state more or less under the dominion of man. Most ornithologists in the past were ignorant of the avicultural branch of their science, and it is the Avicultural Society of England that has done much to remove this ignorance. How far the society has been successful in its object, may be gathered from the fact that in the International Congress of Ornithology, held in Paris in the year 1900, a section was reserved for Aviculture.

The study of bird-life in Nature is beset with difficulties and is full of obstacles, and although the work of Indian ornithologists is highly creditable, yet much remains to be known regarding the habits and activities of many of our birds. Mr. Law says: "If we have to depend entirely on the field ornithologist for our knowledge of the whole truth about bird-life, we shall have to wait long, and in many cases, wait in vain. The field observers cannot observe one particular bird the whole year through, but gleans facts from chance acquaintances, and he might deduce conclusions that might be altogether different from the actuality. The aviculturist, on the other hand, gets an opportunity to study a bird for years, and if he studies it from an ornithological viewpoint, he is likely to get at many of the truths affecting 'the synonymy, the nidification, the courting, the tendency to polygamy or polyandry, the duration of incubation and the sexual characters of birds, etc.' which are of the greatest scientific interest, even to a systematist. The more species that can be bred and studied in captivity, the better will the systematic student be equipped for comprehending the meaning of the various measurements in his cabinet specimens. The system of careful measurement, the study of plumage, etc., help much in classification, but there is a danger of the laboratory student straying into the wrong track. For example, we know that nestling birds have a wide gape, the breadth of the bill narrowing with age. This narrowing process does not end before the first moult, when many birds acquire adult plumage; nor do they at the time attain their full length. Now, when newly moulted youngsters are shot down by a field-naturalist in one part of the country, and compared by the museum worker with adult specimens of the same bird shot in another part of the country, there is the danger of the younger bird being classified as a distinct subspecies, on account of the shorter bill and smaller size. Such pitfalls may be avoided by the aviculturist who gets an opportunity to study birds from birth to full maturity."

There is no doubt, however, that the aviculturist has done much to ameliorate the conditions of birds in captivity. Prior to the rise of a school of aviculturists the lot of birds was most miserable, and they received inconceivably cruel treatment at the hands of dealers. By his persistent outcry against such treatment, the aviculturist has compelled dealers and keepers to provide better food and accommodation for their *protégés.* In the next place the craze for "ospreys" by the gentler (!) sex in civilised countries led to the indescribable torture of many species of birds, and even threatened the extermination of some. The aviculturist has been able to put a stop to some of these cruel practices. Egret-farming has come into being in some parts of India. This is referred to later on.

It is, of course, true that the aviculturist is liable to make mistakes, but it is also possible to check the many very interesting hints gleaned by him by the study of birds in their natural state. Besides, it is certainly true that "the study of captive birds is a useful stimulus to field observers" to take up the matter and probe further into the mysteries of Nature. Aviculture may, therefore, also be regarded as the handmaid of ornithology, for both field observations and aviculture are very much inter-dependent on each other.

In India, aviculture was never in vogue among Indians. They have never attempted to move out of the groove marked out for them by tradition, and are content to establish the closest familiarity with their pets. The latter are invariably hand-reared nestlings, which are kept singly, no attempt being ever made to keep pairs and encourage them to breed. Occasionally, however, birds are to be seen in a state of semi-domestication on the lawns of rich persons, but these birds are kept more for the sake of adornment than for any scientific purpose; and the birds are generally large ones, like cranes, storks and peafowl. Avicultural study with Indian and other foreign birds was first systematically taken up by those English scientists who created a school of aviculturists in England. The most prominent names among them are those of Russ, Butler, Reginald Phillips, Astley and Teschemaker. The records of their observations on captive birds have materially increased our knowledge about them.

Mr. Frank Finn was the first person to attempt to induce captive specimens to breed in the Calcutta Zoo; but his work was not carried on by his successors, who apparently were content to keep their birds alive for show purposes as long as they could, and did not think it worth while to study their habits. Sporadic attempts at scientific caging and breeding of Indian birds are, however, on record, but they are generally made by an over-zealous person, imbued with the modern cult of aviculture. The British rule in India has facilitated the bird-trade of India to such an extent that most of the Indian cage-birds are now freely sent to Europe and Great Britain, where specially, much scientific study has been made with them.

No comprehensive literature on Indian cage-birds is available. Finn's *Garden and Aviary Birds* and Butler's *Foreign Birds for Cage and Aviary* are the only available and trustworthy volumes on the subject. There is an interesting paper by Finn on "Cage Birds of Calcutta" published in *The Ibis*, the journal of the British Ornithologists' Union, and reproduced in Vol. XIV of *The Journal of the Bombay Natural History Society*. Much important information is also strewn over the pages of the *Avicultural Magazine*, which if collected togeher, will greatly benefit future aviculturists who deal with Indian birds. Modern Indian literature is totally barren in this respect. The only book, which has scientifically treated the subjects of aviculture and bird-caging, is written by Mr. Law in Bengali and is called *Pakhir-Katha* or "Bird-lore." Mr. Law is the first and only Indian known to me who has made an attempt to study aviculture from a scientific standpoint. He has also begun an interesting series styled *Pet Birds of Bengal* in which he has divided cage-birds into song-birds, talking birds, fighting-birds and miscellaneous birds kept for show, etc.

As far as we know at present there are no birds in India which are responsible for the dissemination of dangerous and fatal maladies, as in the case of some insects, like the mosquito and the flea. On the other hand, India possesses a large number of birds beneficial to man. As I have said before, we do not know very much of the economic value of birds in India—we have only been able to touch on the fringe of the subject. Turning now to Economic Ornithology, we find that birds may be considered economically in two quite different aspects: in the first place, from the direct point of view of the economic products of the birds themselves; and, in the second place, from the indirect point of view of the destruction by birds of insects which are injurious to agriculture.

As regards the economic value of birds from the point of view of their utility to man on account of the economic products of the birds themselves, we know that birds are of value for two main reasons:

(*a*) for the sale of their skins and feathers; and

(*b*) for eating purposes.

Most people know that the birds most commonly killed for the sake of their skins and feathers are the Egrets. Besides the Egrets there are also other species shot or otherwise killed for the market value of their feathers, *e. g.*, the Pheasants, principally the Monal Pheasant (*Lophophorus impejanus*) and the Crimson Horned Pheasants (*Ceriornis satyra* and *Tragopan melanocephala*), the Paroquets of the genus *Psittacula*, the Roller or "Blue Jay" (*Coracias benghalensis benghalensis*), the Pied and White-breasted Kingfishers (*Ceryle rudis leucomelanura* and *Halcyon smyrnensis fusca*), especially the latter, of which species I once saw many thousands of skins for sale in a big street in Calcutta, and the Jungle-Fowls—the hackles of the Grey Jungle-Fowl (*Gallus sonneratti*) being utilised for the making of fishing flies. A large trade is carried on in the feathers of the Egrets. Several species of Egrets are killed annually when the birds are breeding because of the filmy feathers that grow on the backs of these birds during the breeding season. A great deal has been written on the subject of the trade in Egret feathers, the keeping of these birds in regular farms, and the advisability of legislation in connection with the trade. The exigencies of space prevent me from discussing the question in detail and the matter can only be considered very briefly.

It is now an established fact that, in parts of Sind at any rate, a fairly extensive trade is carried on in Egret feathers. There are many farms where the birds are bred for the purpose. In some farms the method of plume-plucking may be cruelly done, but this is not the case in every farm. If properly regulated Egret-farms were established, and the export of feathers permitted by license, a flourishing trade could be brought about, and there is every reason to think that with good management Egret-farming in India would be as humane and comparatively as profitable as ostrich-farming in Africa. The principal Egrets from which feathers are taken are the White Egrets, *viz.*, the Large Egret (*Egretta alba modesta*), the Smaller Egret (*E. intermedia intermedia*) and the Little Egret (*E. garzetta garzetta*); but the Cattle-Egret (*Bubulcus ibis coromandus*) and the Pond-Heron (*Ardeola grayii*) are also utilised.

I have not been able to obtain detailed statistics showing the export from India of the feathers of various birds and the market value of the feathers of these species, but I sub-join a brief statement of a general character. These figures represent the registered legal trade in feathers, but a fairly extensive trade of an illegal nature is carried on at the more important Indian ports. It is, of course, impossible to obtain statistics of this unregistered trade.

Statement showing Export of Birds' Feathers.[1]

Countries of final destination.	Quantity in Lbs.			Value in Rupees.		
	1919-20	1920-21	1921-22	1919-20	1920-21	1921-22
United Kingdom	...	118	334	...	1,530	3,915
Perim	...	23	74	...	1,035	3,655
Other British Possessions ...	28	...	...	495	...	...
Egypt	..	230	205	...	4,350	6,000
Zanzibar, etc.	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total, British Empire ...	28	371	613	495	6,915	13,570
D'jibouti and Obok	...	...	...	...	...	...
France	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mossawah	...	...	...	...	...	...
North Africa, etc.	...	...	...	...	...	...
Other Foreign Countries ...	23	4	11	480	225	85
Total, Foreign Countries ...	23	4	11	480	225	85
Total, British Empire and Foreign Countries	51	375	624	975	7,170	13,635

The birds principally used for food are the Game Birds which include Ducks, Geese, Cranes, Snipe, Bustards, Grouse, Pigeons, Partridges, Quails, Pheasants, Jungle-Fowl and Peafowl. But in a country such as India, where a large percentage of the population is vegetarian, the number of birds killed for food is comparatively small. Other birds, which are not strictly regarded as game birds are also shot and eaten, but the number of these is so small that we need not consider them.

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[1] *Vide* Annual Statement of the Sea Borne Trade in British India with the British Empire and Foreign Countries for the fiscal year ending 31st March, 1922, Volume II.

As regards the economic value of birds from the point of view of the destruction by birds of insects harmful to agriculture, the only useful literature we have on the question is a Memoir of the Imperial Department of Agriculture in India, entitled "The Food of Birds in India." Thanks to the late Mr. C. W. Mason, a series of useful experiments and research work was carried out at Pusa, where specimens of various species of birds were shot with a view to ascertaining, by an examination of their stomach-contents, which birds were beneficial or otherwise to agriculture because of the kind of food eaten by them. The results of Mr. Mason's work give at least some indication of the economic importance of birds in relation to agriculture. It was thought that birds examined at a place like Pusa, in the heart of an agricultural district, would prove useful. Due to lack of sufficient material no far-reaching conclusions could be arrived at. Mr. Maxwell-Lefroy, who edited Mr. Mason's notes on the food of birds, has endeavoured to sum up the results obtained. These conclusions will be mentioned later, but let us take, at random, a few common Indian birds and see what Mr. Mason was able to discover about their food.

It was found that the birds common at Pusa were for the most part beneficial. As regards the common Crows of India (*Corvus splendens splendens* and *Corvus coronoides levaillanti*) there are two opinions: Mason thought that the Crows could not be definitely classed as beneficial, and required if anything to have their numbers kept within certain limits, as is the case with *C. frugilegus* in England; but Maxwell-Lefroy was of opinion that Crows need protection, because of the fact that at Pusa the birds feed on *Chrotogonus*, a most destructive surface grasshopper. It is a moot point whether the Crows are beneficial to agriculture or not, for these birds are notoriously omnivorous feeders as everyone knows. It is possible that in other parts of India Crows are injurious to crops. I do not think that if a Crow was given the choice between garbage and grain or an insect injurious to crops, the bird would eat the insect or the grain! The King-Crow or Black Drongo (*Dicrurus macrocercus macrocercus*) is regarded as a most useful bird, so much so that the erection of suitable perches is recommended as a measure to encourage the birds. This species is said to be of great importance in paddy fields. A curious fact is mentioned about the Starlings, which include the Mynas. The Common Myna (*Acridotheres tristis tristis*) is considered a bird well worthy of encouragement. Maxwell-Lefroy thinks that it could perhaps be encouraged by planting figs as avenue trees wherever possible. The trees would afford food and shelter and would help to maintain a number of birds which would assist in coping with an outbreak of crop-pests. The good done by Mynas, on account of the food they eat, is said to far outweigh every other consideration. On the other hand, the Rosy Pastor (*Pastor roseus*), although it is also a Myna, is nothing else but a pest and a bird most injurious to agriculture. The Indian Bee-eater (*Merops orientalis orientalis*) is another species about which a strange fact has been brought to light in view of the experiments carried out at Pusa. On the whole this species is regarded as beneficial, but it is a great nuisance to the apiarist. The Blue-tailed Bee-eater (*M. superciliosus javanicus*) is said to be distinctly injurious to agriculture. The greatest scourge of the farmer in India is the Green Paroquet. Maxwell-Lefroy says: "The Paroquets are deserving of no protection at all but of utter extermination, and all the nonsense written about their extermination by ignorant people in England is based on an entire ignorance of India. There is no more destructive bird to the crops than the paroquet and the cultivator is powerless against it." As regards the common House-Sparrow (*Passer domesticus* *indicus*) opinions differ, but Maxwell-Lefroy ranks it as distinctly injurious. Of fruit-eating birds, the Indian Green Barbet (*Thereiceryx zeylanicus caniceps*) was found to be a general fruit pest in the orchards at Pusa, but Doves and Pigeons are said to be of little economic importance. Among the Storks, Ibises, Herons, etc., the Black Ibis (*Inocotis papillosus papillosus*) is ranked as a doubtfully injurious species, the Cattle-Egret (*Bubulcus ibis coromandus*) as a beneficial bird worthy of protection, the Pond-Heron (*Ardeola grayii*) as injurious because it feeds largely on dragon-flies, and the Egrets proper of doubtful importance to agriculture.

These few remarks sufficiently indicate the complexity of the problems which this branch of the study of bird-life presents. We must not forget that "in the study of economic ornithology it is essential to know practically everything about the bird with which we are dealing."

(*To be continued*)

S. BASIL EDWARDES

BURMA AND BURMAN LIFE [1]

All men begin their life in dream and romance. So I began my own life. All are brought up in narrow surroundings, fostering prejudices and predilections, personal likes and dislikes. So I was brought up in a remote Buddhist village in Chittagong with its pastoral surroundings, where the peasantry sang the familiar song 'Rongoom Rongilá' or 'Amorous Glitters of Rangoon,' half in earnest, half in jest, describing the prospects of our daring Musalman seamen who happened to be in Rangoon. The song was composed either by a seaman himself with humour and pathos, or by some other local composer, probably a Musalman poet-singer on the basis of our seamen's impressions. This is an amusing and stingless pastoral ballad, which I must translate to give you an exact idea of its style and contents. Though there may not be any paramount truth to be derived therefrom, yet this is important for me, at any rate, because this was precisely the song which first aroused my romantic fancy about Burma. Now I place before you a free rendering of the song.

Rongoom Rongilá.

"Rangoon is the fashionable town which is a paragon of beauty, a city of fairy queens, where many of our men have been enticed and lost themselves in the magic charm of the deceptive fascination of the place. How many of us have gone there to remain enchained as captives. Thoughtless youth leads them to run away from home, not even taking with them money to pay the fares and carrying a morsel of rice to eat on the way. Off and on they look back to see if they are followed, to avoid being forced to go back. Do not think of going,—pleads the solicitous mother,—to Rangoon. Kill not your loving mother. I will even pawn all your father's holdings and belongings to get you the prettiest girl on the earth. The wily damsels of Rangoon are all enchanting spirits, who excel but in all pleasing arts. Our simple-minded men from Chittagong fall an easy prey to them and are caught in the snare. The Burman fairies fasten and unfasten their beautifully done-up hair-knots. Their long locks of hair are but the magic strings that bind down our men. Do not think, my son, my darling, of going to Rangoon."

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[1] Lecture delivered in Rangoon on October, 18, 1924.

How to feel the Pulse.

I readily forgive our simple-minded seamen, especially whose religion is not Buddhism. But I cannot pardon my cousin who was a Buddhist by faith, lived at least seven years in this place, and yet failed to get himself into touch with the real Burman life. Shortly after his premature death, the manuscript of the first canto of a Bengali epic in blank verse, which he undertook to write, fell into my hands. It bore the captious title "Brahmasundari," "The Fairy Queen of Burma." He usually began his poem by invoking the Muse, the Hindu Goddess of Learning, to inspire him and grant him the power to detail the darker aspects of Burman life in order that his countrymen might profit by a timely warning. What could be more sacrilegious than to call down the divine Muse for such a profane task as of describing the corruptions and frivolities of a great people as he found them manifest in their city-life. No city-life, whether ancient, medieval or modern, whether here or elsewhere, was free from these. Frivolities go hand in hand with festivities in the city-life of every nation. These are in a way the pathological conditions of delirious patients, as well as outward expressions of youthful impulses having an importance of their own. As I then felt, the pulse of Burman life was not to be felt there, the real seat of

Burman feeling lay hidden elsewhere, the true way of understanding and unveiling the secrets of the Burmese people was not in freely mixing or studiously shunning, in loving or hating, in praising or condemning, but in ascertaining where actually was the source of their strength and weakness, greatness and failings, possibilities and impossibilities. Now I straightly proceed to acquaint you with my impressions.

Indian Life contrasted with Burman.

In leaving India for Burma I felt a sense of relief at the prospect of being away, though for a few days, from the time-honoured ancient abode of worn-out hermits, calmly facing or awaiting death beyond which is the eternal life in Brahmaloka, to find myself in an open Ring with a marble floor, where millions of young persons, men and women, with their youthful vivacity were always skating, maintaining their balance and regulating their bodily motion by keeping themselves in harmony with the ceaseless, and exhilarating tunes of the autoharmonium, unmindful of the surroundings, not meaning hostility and yet occasionally treading on the path of one another. I also took it to be a descent from a rocky and lofty mountain to follow up the course of a river from its source to its mouth, taking its rise from the accumulation of hundreds of streamlets and waterfalls, and growing larger and deeper as it approached the sea. Among the vast Vedic collection, there is one hymn in which the inspired poet-singer records his bitter experiences of danger and pain arising from the activities of such unseen enemies as reptiles and scorpions, expresses his unshaken faith in immortality, and declares the firmness of his will to rise superior to his condition. Another hymn describes the public burial of a deceased warrior hero, whose sword, coat of arms and other personal emblems are taken off for preservation as a national property and source of inspiration. His body is gently laid at rest in the sepulchre.

A memorial mound is erected over the tomb, and a tablet is set up as a device of separating the living from the dead, while his wife is advised by the priest to go back along with other women to the world of mirth and joy, to begin her life anew. The Upanishads proclaim the perishableness of body and the imperishableness of soul, and teach men to aspire for the immortal state by means within the reach of the mortal. Some of them inculcate by the simile of periodical reanimation of plant-life that death is nothing but a passing phase of change. The Sanskrit epics, the Jaina and the Buddhist books contain descriptions of how Indian heroes,—the warriors, the hermits and ascetics, went to meet death, some climbing up the Himalayas, some consecrating themselves to fire and water, others killing themselves by a sudden fall from great heights and by slow starvation. The Buddhist Birth-stories, illustrating the accepted moral principles and religious ideals of the Hindus, afford instances where the highest wisdom of the Bodhisattva is displayed in his effective exhortation to remain unaffected at the death of dear ones. The Bodhisattva employs this twofold argument: (1) that death being an inevitable fact, none should try to explain it away but manly to face it; (2) that sorrows and lamentations are useless as a means of bringing back the dead into life. There are two sculptures carved on the railing of a famous Buddhist monument at Barhut, illustrating two of these stories. One of them teaches that a dead cow cannot eat grass, and the other represents a scene of cremation of the dead body of a Brahmin young man who died of snake-bite. His father, mother, sister and wife did their household duties as usual and at the proper hour carried the dead body to the cremation ground. None of them wept, but remained in perfect calm. Their mental equanimity made the throne of Śakra glow. The Vedas, the Upanishads, the Epic stories and the Játakas represent a preparatory stage of Buddhism. But the whole atmosphere is one of gloom, calmness and serenity. Even the

Buddhist account of Buddha's decease is not free from this sombre atmosphere. There is not, indeed, a single instance in Indian literature where death is considered a feast and a festival for the kinsmen. But this is a daily occurrence in Burman life. The well-known Buddhist commentator Buddhaghosha records a queer South Indian custom of washing the bones and holding a festival of lamentation. The dead body of the deceased, he says, was buried, the bones were taken out after sometime and a lucky asterism was fixed for celebration of the mourning festival. The bones and bottles of wine were arranged. The kinsmen drank wine and wept. Here in this aboriginal custom we see an element of drunkenness and savagery from which the Burman-Buddhist custom is absolutely free. Only a day or two after my arrival here I witnessed a funeral procession and its ordered progress. The dead body was carried in a portable peacock-shaped coffin. The village men and women nicely dressed followed the coffin, while the procession was closed by men playing on tambourines, before whom went the heavenly dancers. I felt it was a living illustration of the triumph of Aśokan Buddhism, a fine popular representation of life in the celestial mansions as described in the Buddhist Vimánavatthu or Book of Stories of Heaven.

Bengal is the British Indian province which stands nearest to Burma. Its districts inhabited by Buddhist communities, such as Chittagong and Chittagong Hill Tracts, are directly connected by land with Arracan. The remaining part of the province is separated from Burma by the Bay of Bengal. On the two sides of the sea we find the homes of two great religions, Vaishnavism of Śri-Gouránga and Buddhism of the great Śákyamuni. The religion on the Indian side postulates the life of joy, and that on the Burman side teaches that death is a feast and a festival. One is incomplete without the other. It is not a small achievement of humanity to realise through society the joyousness of life and the festivity of death, without any sign of barbarity and loss of mental serenity. Let me now compare and contrast. I shall ask, who can welcome life as joy and who can celebrate death as a festival? The answers are plain. Those who welcome life as joy are peoples of a worn-out nation, who spring into life only when they hear of the birth of a child into their world or celebrate the marriage of a young couple who will bring new children into the world to continue their line. On the other hand, those who hold a festival of death are members of a youthful race such as Burman, who can never think of death as a dreadful condition. The old man loves to talk of life, and the young man makes fun of death.

Burman Heritage.

The Burman emerges into history for the first time in the 11th Century A.D. All that we know about him previous to this, from by far modern sources of doubtful authority, is but a confused mass of fable and fiction and a conjectural reading from the important archeological finds in some of the ancient sites—Thaton, Pagan and the rest. He represents a people "young in racial development, eager, active, impatient of all restraint." His brighter qualities and shortcomings, achievements and failings, are all that is due to the full vigour and the noble impulse of youth. Burma presents a joyful scene of the old order changing, yielding place to the new. Burmese literary treasures yet preserve the bequest of wise sayings and injunctions of the ancient Rishis. The Burman youth has profited by the teachings, experiences and settled habits of such older peoples as Indian, Chinese and Singhalese. The well regulated life, discipline and mental equanimity underlying the cheerful outbursts of Burman youth and vitality are certainly due to this noble heritage from the past of other countries. Cut off from this heritage, one need not be surprised that he will be simply sailing in a dashing boat without a guide and a rudder to keep it in order. Daring youth, defiant of all warnings from long experience, easily glides into recklessness and danger.

Buddhism in India and Burma.

My impression is that the real history of Buddhism in Burma began where it ended in India. With the destruction of various Sanghárámas, each of which was a great seat of learning, the Buddhists permanently lost ground in their motherland. Thus externally the history of Buddhism in India was closed. A closer enquiry may reveal that already at this time Buddhism was inwardly threatened with a deadlock and stagnation, there being practically no fresh articulation of thoughts and ideas. The Buddhist teachers of Ceylon were too much given to the study of grammar and controversies about the monastic discipline and the ecclesiastical code, and at the same time too unimaginative and conservative in policy to think of anything new. Though early Buddhism did not directly touch civil life, there were indirect suggestions for new schemes of life and rough outlines of new sciences of anatomy, medicine, law and polity. When the Buddhist as an enlightened enquirer entered on his career as an enlightened teacher, he compiled the Birth-stories serving as typical illustrations of all possible situations in which a man might be placed as husbandman, as king, as minister, as judge, as village headman, as tax-collector, as trader or merchant. Though the counterparts of these stories were embodied in the Sanskrit epics, in the Buddhist setting they acquired a special significance, in addition to that which was commonly accepted and known.

Brahmanism vs. *Buddhism.*

The Brahmanist tended to stereotype the customary laws and usages as a means of stabilising the system, while the

Buddhist endeavoured to counteract this narrowing tendency by creating situations, suggesting standpoints and means of overcoming, other than those considered and contemplated by the Brahmanist legislator. In the general body of the Suttas themselves a scheme of the law of persons was drawn up setting forth the reciprocal duties of the members of a household. Buddhism, instead of destroying anything that was best in Brahmanism, brought all that was best in it into bolder relief and supplemented the same by other things equally good under different circumstances. Under the influence of new biological doctrines and ethical conceptions, the severity of the criminal law was greatly modified, and gradually this law was sufficiently humanised. But condemnation of all forms of marriage and social institutions, except those favoured by the Brahmanist modeller, stifled the expansion of Hindu life. There were possibilities of a new Law-compendium of Manu on the basis of Pâli passages. The compilation of such compendia was a task left to the Buddhist teachers of Burma to accomplish. The comparison between the Burmese Law-codes in Pâli and the Hindu Law-books in Sanskrit clearly brings out, as observed by scholars who have studied this point, the pervading Indian element in the former. It is from the Brahmanic law that the Talaing code took its form and most of its provisions. The difference lay in the spirit. For instance, the Buddhist law-givers ignored, as my teacher late Mrs. Mabel Bode observes, the sacramental vow of marriage, and based their theory of punishment on the doctrine of Karma. "In the legal texts," she continues, "we notice the use of the Pâli language (1) to preserve a Hindu tradition derived from the Talaings, (2) to consecrate Burmese customary law which could, we may suppose, be codified equally well in the Burmese idiom. The classic literary language, naturally chosen in such cases as the attribute of awe and majesty befitting the written code, is here also the reminder of the debt that Burmese custom and law owe to Buddhism.

An excellent example of Buddhist influence is the change in the wife's legal position."

Doctrine of Impermanence.

My other impression is that the aspect of Buddhism which appealed to Burman people and was found in harmony with their inner spirit is the doctrine of impermanence. The Burman stands out in history as the main Buddhist people who have consistently sought, with their Siamese neighbours, to realise the ideal of impermanence. Aniccá or impermanence, is the one expression which one finds uppermost in the mouth of a Burman when his feet slip on the ground or he encounters any other risk. Burma is the country where Buddhist Abhidhamma literature is carefully studied with interest and profit by the Pôngyis and the laity. The permanent lesson which they derive from this study is the grand truth of impermanence. Even the conjugal life which is the basis of Hindu social polity may not last longer than a night. The main material of Burmese architecture is yet wood, which is a perishable material. The best Burmese artist is yet the wood-carver or carpenter. The Buddhist missionary from India has taught him to build pagodas with stone. The father builds a pagoda, the son does not look after this, but goes to build another, realising impermanence as a supreme fact of life. For permanent leaseholds the Burman, in spite of his long march along the highroad of culture, does not care much; he yet lives in innocence of all complications of the law of property, from which it would seem to be a sounder historical view that the impost of the capitation-tax was not a British innovation, though the changed conditions of his life and world-civilisation suggest the prudence of its abolition or reasonable readjustment by an equable modern system of revenue. The slightest insult irritates him. He is irascible and forgiving. Stabbing is the commonest crime in his land. That is to say, he is prepared to risk the utmost, to give away all that he has, without a second thought for the morrow. His practice of charity verges on a vice of imprudence. The Burma trains are conspicuous by the absence of intermediate compartments. The Burman society is sadly lacking in a strong middle class to ballast it. The youthful vitality of the race, coupled with its deep-rooted faith in the truth of impermanence, constitutes the very source of Burman strength and weakness. Indian life tends to be static, the Burman life dynamic.

Buddhism the Burman Faith.

I have also an impression that no other type of Aryanism could take a permanent root in the soil than Buddhism. The great point in Buddhism was that it was socially non-interfering and sought by the change of heart and outlook to lead a free people like the Burman on the path of self-determination. Other forms of Aryanism also reached the shore of Burma, the vestiges of whose influence can be brought out by careful researches. But these were too wooden and rigid to be consonant with the pulsation of Burman heart.

Burmese Woman as Wife.

If one examines the Buddhist collection of 'Parittas,' usually chanted by the Buddhists to ward off dangers and attain prosperity, there he will find not a single poem or a passage sanctifying the union of men and women in marriage. The creative impulse of nature brings man and woman into union. It requires no preaching and no consecration. When a man and a woman come as husband and wife for instructions, the Buddhist teacher gives him the best possible instruction, helping them to live a life of continence, rectitude and restraint. Though divorces are very common or possible in Burman marriages, no woman is more loving and lovely, faithful and active as a wife than Burman. It is difficult for a foreigner and outsider to realise the blessedness and wretchedness of the freedom and position of the Burmese woman.

Buddhist Discipline.

I also have an impression that the Burman has followed in spirit the Buddhist mode of discipline which is intended to be self-imposed and habitual. The Brahmanist tends to hold as if man was made for the law, while the Buddhist tends to maintain that the law was made for the man. The rules of external conduct are intended to be conducive to the higher discipline which is internal and subjective. In a well-known Buddhist passage the Buddha himself says that though he was in his eighteenth year and was dragging his body as a worn-out cart, he never thought that he was the leader of the Sangha or that the members of the Sangha looked up to him for guidance. The spirit of his ideals he fully disclosed, and that was the best guide for those who liked to follow it. I am simply astonished to see pictures and read accounts of big Burman processions in which the old go to meet the old, the young go to find a place among the young, taking each his or her position even according to tallness, and making an ordered progress without having a commander to cry out 'right and left.' No people have ever so carefully studied and so jealously preserved the treasure, the time-honoured Buddhist Kammavácás or forms of ecclesiastical proceedings than the Burman. Here lies the source, and here the secret, of the beautiful and disciplined habit of the people who are apparently so free and impatient of restraint.

Kyaungs and Pagodas.

My last impression is that Burma is a country where Kyaungs or monasteries have a mushroom growth, and stand as bamboo-clusters difficult to root out. The bell-shaped pagodas rise up from broad octagonal bases to an unimaginable slenderness and height, culminating in a subtle point. These monasteries were once the native institutions where boys and girls, specially the boys, learnt the scriptures and arithmetic, and princes learnt the law and principles of polity along with the Buddhist scriptures. Education being taken out of the hands of the pôngyis, the monasteries are fast losing their importance. In these days of scarcity the erection of monasteries and pagodas is bound to become an extravagance and waste. When King Aśoka had depleted his imperial treasury by a lavish expenditure on religious monuments, he had to be removed from the throne, while the government was carried on in his name. This kind of extravagance and wastefulness gave rise to a Buddhist school of thought, miscalled Chaityavâdin or Shrinemen, who protested against shrine-worship on theological and metaphysical grounds. The erection of monasteries and pagodas with government sanction has been penalised in Siam.

Political History.

As a general student of history my impression is that Burma like other countries was a scene of tribal migrations, foreign invasions and internecine hostilities. It is a marvel indeed that these invasions and hostilities did not disturb the peaceful life in the monasteries. I can rather be proud to find that these hostilities opened out channels for higher cultures to flow in and pave the way for a larger synthesis and unification in Burman life.

Open Heart.

In whatever perspective I view Burman life I find in it a contribution of all that is best in Hinduism and Buddhism. The Lokanîti which is a Burmese compilation of best sayings of old, made in Burma, is a selection and amalgam of verses from the Buddhist Dhammapada and the Hindu Sangraha ascribed to Chánakya. Burma has been thoroughly Aryanised through Buddhism. Burman life has taken enough from Hinduism barring its social exclusiveness, sacerdotalism and priestcraft. Burma lays bare an open heart. There are numberless pagodas, adorning almost every elevated hill-top. These are open to all. People think the Burman is most beautiful when he says his prayer. They are mistaken. He does not pray but praises. He praises the expansion of human heart and infinite grace and nobility in the life of the Buddha, the enlightened master, who yet receives homage from at least forty-five crores of his votaries.

B. M. Barua

ANIMISM AND ITS SURVIVAL IN INDIA

Scientists, who have solved so many mysterious problems and discovered such wonderful things for us, have not yet been able to tell us just at what period of the world's development Worship began, nor what was the first form of religious worship. It is known, however, that aeons back in the dawn of history, early man began to realize that there was some great Force at the back of animate and inanimate life; some unseen and inexplicable Power that pervaded and dominated the world's being: and through the contemplation of the manifestations of natural phenomena he evolved a crude and primitive outline of worship.

Man began by deifying the Unknown, and gradually extended his veneration to Nature and Nature's creatures. The sun was a symbol of light and life, and, therefore, he worshipped the sun; and this ancient form of religion has persisted through thousands of years of changing faiths. Man worshipped Nature, visible and invisible; and he peopled the invisible with creatures of his own vivid imagination.

The celestial firmament, with its vast and remote planetary system and its awe-inspiring heavenly bodies, *filled* him with a sense of mystery. Therefore, he worshipped them, and from his first forms of celestial worship evolved what afterwards came to be called Astral Theology.

Forests, mountains, seas, flowers, animals, birds and reptiles were all regarded as part of the Omnipotent plan: hence they, too, were worshipped. Not content with the known and visible creatures of the world about him, he created a host of spirits, good and evil: djinns, goblins, fairies, devils and influences malign and benign, to inhabit the realms of earth, air and sea.

It seemed natural to the primitive mind that such terrifying expressions of Nature's moods as thunder and lightning; storms, earthquakes, floods and hurricanes should be the manifestations of angry and evil spirits.

All violent upheavals of Nature were regarded as the work of malicious gods and devils. Fear, as the basis of faith has persisted in all old religions, even on down to the age of the thundering Prophets of Judiac history. God was represented as a being terrible and vengeful, to be feared and propitiated with sacrifices and offerings.

It was Christ who taught us that "God is Love," and His gentle humanitarian philosophy started a new era in religions.

Even as Nature's dark moods were regarded as manifestations of evil, so were her calmer and happier phases called the gifts of good spirits. Both evil and good forces were feared and propitiated with impartiality.

The tremendous hold that superstition and fetishism has on the more uncultured majority of this world's inhabitants, is so deeply rooted and goes back so many unknown thousands of years, that religious systems built on fear are as powerful to-day as ever in the portions of the earth where enlightenment and progress have been slow in reaching the untutored masses.

Among the people of the lower orders of mentality, whose more atavistic and impressionable natures are saturated in generations of superstitious fears, every phase of Nature has some special and mysterious significance.

Animism may be taken as a composite of all the primitive faiths of the human race. It embodies all the qualities of early fetishism and such faiths as are based on superstition, ignorance and fear.

The more enlightened a people are, the fewer gods they need, and in the gradual evolution of religion and the elimination of the non-essential, Monotheism has come to be regarded as the highest religious concept of the day. Polytheism is the religion of the unintelligent, and the higher man evolves in the scale, the more his beliefs are concentrated in the One Supreme Being. As man develops mentally and spiritually, he discards the belief in multiple spirits and superhuman beings and relegates the outworn creatures of fear to the limbo of the rejected myths of yesterday.

Among the more primitive people of the East, whether of Islamic, Hindu or Buddhistic faith, we find a rather stupenduous survival of the cults of animism. Nature-worship has persisted, particularly in Egypt, Asia and India; and we come in contact with daily evidences of "hangovers" of superstitions that ante-date Hinduism, and, of course, Mohamedanism and Buddhism which are religions of a later period.

Racial superstitions are ingrained, and it will take many more centuries before man has rid himself of the manacles of ignorance and fear. Some of the ramifications of Animism have sown the seeds from which many strange growths have sprung. Perverted and obscure cults have been encouraged here in the East on a fecund soil.

In Egypt, Asia Minor and Greece, Phallic worship flourished for centuries, and came into India under the title of Tantric worship, involved in obscene and unwholesome rites, which made an appeal to the lowest in man's nature. We will pass over these more degraded phases of Nature-worship, even if it is impossible to ignore them here in India where the "left-handed" forms of Hinduism frankly practice cults of unspeakable vileness.

The Hindu Pantheon, with its confusing and labyrinthine convolutions had, as its foundation, the primal forces of Nature-worship, which have persisted in the symbols and totems of the Hindu mythology.

Animism has many forms and aspects which creep into even modern religions and thrust out tentacles, reaching through and twining around the superstructure of saner theological systems and lives on in the more modern religious cults, as persistent as the "Old Man of the Sea."

The instinctive and primal faith of Animism and of Transmigration of the Soul may have had its beginning in man's longing to see God in Nature and to perpetuate himself in immortality. The span of human life is brief at best, and man is not satisfied with the contemplation of total annihilation of the life-spark. He desires to live, on and on, and he dreads the thought of ultimate "nothingness"; and so, he has built up a belief in the persistence of the spirit in other worlds or other shapes. His consuming desire to perpetuate himself and his species, in order to escape extinction, was doubtless the *causus primus* of all the varied forms of theology and soul survival.

Ancestor-worship is but a reaction to this belief. Reverence to the departed relation, is what the natural man desires for himself, when his future has become his past. He keeps alive the memory of his long-dead ancestors, even as he hopes that he himself may be perpetuated in the memories of his descendants. A natural instinct for preservation and the continuity of what we call, for want of a better word, *Soul*, has created a belief in immortality and eternity.

Metamorphosis and transformation of souls were common forms of primitive faiths, and are based on instinctive beliefs that the life-form persists as an entity and is not submerged into Nirvana. No natural human being likes to comtemplate the dissolution of his ego, and so desires have created faiths, and faiths are hopes on which we live.

Animal-worship is a common branch of Animism and arose from the belief that animals were the abiding places of the spirits of the departed. In India a number of animals are surrounded by the odour of sanctity, and are even worshipped as symbols of the divinities whom they represent. Many of the species were supposed to be the associates and familiars of the high gods on Mt. Meru, and for that reason are "sacred" and taboo to this day.

Cows, snakes, monkeys and peacocks are held sacred in India and to kill them is considered a heinous crime by the orthodox Hindu. Many other animals were reverenced as the vehicles of the gods, such as Kama and the parrot; Shiva and the bull; Vishnu and the cobra; Sarasvati and the swan; Lakshmi and the elephant; Garuda and the eagle; Krishna and the cow; Ganesh and the rat, and Durga and the tiger.

The pipal, fig, bo and banyan trees are worshipped in India and certain flowers, such as the *tulsi*, the lotus, the *bel*, the *kusa* grass, jasmine and *kamra* have important religious significance. Even insensate stones are venerated such as the *lingam* of Shiva and the *salagrama* or Visnu symbol. Spirits invariably inhabit the peaks of all mountains, and this belief was not confined to India. In Greece, the homes of the Gods was Mt. Parnassus; in Nordic mythology the Gods dwelt in Valhalla while in India the home of the gods was Mt. Meru.

It is said that the primary deities of Hinduism, the Trimurti, or Trinity, are personifications of the three chief elements, earth, air and water. Brahma, the Creator, represented the earth; Visnu, the Preserver, symbolized the water; and Shiva, the Destroyer, expressed the functions of the air.

Idol-worship, to which orthodox Hindus were given, probably arose from the objectifying of concrete expressions of deities, just as evil spirits were created from the personifying of fears.

Fables and legends date from the exaggerated accounts of gods and giants, of djinns and spirits concocted from sublimated hero-worship and the desire to create forces of fear with which to frighten bad children into being good; only in this case the children were "grown-ups." These mythical superhuman creatures were intended to inspire awe and fear in the hearts of the people and to be used as weapons of discipline.

The outworn fetishisms of idolatry date back to remote ages, and so slow has been the evolution of the human mind, that in many countries there has been little change in the old beliefs of the people; little evidence of progress and enlightenment. Gross superstition is fostered in the minds of the primitive who are slaves to their own distorted imaginations, rather than the upward-climbing apostles of sanity and reason, who give a different interpretation to the manifestations of divinity in life.

Early man believed that every human being was influenced by good and bad spirits, and they were taught to make prayers and offerings to both; to encourage the good spirits and flatter the bad ones.

Demon-worship was, and is, a common form of Animism and it survives in Hinduism in various fetishes. Shiva himself is called "Bhutesa," the Lord of Demons, and there is a long list of demon-gods and animals.

Bhootams, or evil spirits, dominate nature and are materialized through Nature's darker moods. Each household has a family devil, as well as a family god. There are temples for the exclusive worship of evil spirits and some hill-tribes acknowledge worship of a devil, but exclude or ignore the worship of a benign god. Thus the low, ignorant, cowardly and basely superstitious sides of man's natures are emphasized and evil thought-forms are materialized into what are regarded in India as real and active beings, instinct with malice and wickedness.

In all hill districts in India fetishism and Animism appear to flourish, to-day, as for centuries past. Images of devils and evil spirits are common; there are devil-masques, devil-gods and devil-dances, all calculated to foster and perpetuate the belief in such unhealthy cults.

From the instinct, prompted by fear, to propitiate the dominant and powerful evil forces in Nature, arose the barbaric and revolting custom of human sacrifice, for so many centuries practised here in India, as well as other countries of a similar type of development. Self-appointed priests and magicians have encouraged this abominable rite to infamous extent. The old Druidic sacrifices were also a form of Animism as were certain phases of Egyptian rituals. Human-sacrifice was common among the savage nations in Africa, Asia and the Americas.

In India, sacrifice, at least openly, has narrowed down to the slaughter of animals only. Until the coming of Europeans, human-sacrifice, sati, thugee, girl-child murder and torture were common in this country. Rumours of isolated cases of sacrifice and sati in remote districts sometimes reach our ears to this day, but we have little to go on except "hear-say." It is possible that in distant and unpenetrated sections of this vast country of jungle and mountain fastnesses, there still remains a survival of ancient and savage customs. However, the daily practice of the sacrificing of goats at any Kali or Shiva temple is repulsive enough, as it is an expression of the same fetishism, or what it stands for, in itself sufficiently barbaric in these days.

Neither is it pleasing to contemplate the fact that the tutelary genius and presiding deity at all such sacrifices is Kali-Ma, the black mother, the consort of Shiva, the God of Destruction.

In this case, the female is certainly the deadliest of the species, and in her name have been committed untold crimes. Innumerable victims have been immolated upon her bloody altars in the name of Religion! The abolishment of at least the human element in the cult of sacrifice may be taken for a hopeful sign that gradually such heathenish and vile customs may give way before the spread of Civilization, if not Christianity.

It is safe to suppose that, in the beginning, the worship of animate Nature preceded the worship of inanimate Nature. Later on, certain objects attained religious significance by reason of fabulous connections with the unknown gods and became worshipped as a symbols of the Deity. Legends came into being and cast glamour over such intrinsically worthless things as flowers, grasses, stones and plants of various kinds. Anything that a priest saw fit to use in his ceremonials became "sacred," as, for instance, the "Doorba Grass," the "Tulsi Plant," the "Aswatta" (fig tree), the conch-shell horn, the thigh-bone trumpet, the bell and rosary, and so on down the line of sacerdotal accessories.

Priests, charlatans, and all workers of "black-magic" have preyed upon the credulity and superstitious fears of the ignorant masses about them. Being opportunists by instinct, they were quick to seize upon the vulnerable spots in the minds of the simpletons who regarded them as almost superhuman. They encouraged and shaped their half-formed faiths in devils, evil spirits and all malign forces which they imagined resided in and animated Nature.

Totems, charms, taboos and the appurtenances of quackery came into existence and played an important part in the history of all old and primitive religions. The very shadows became sinister with potential-evil; and fearsome creatures dwelt in every dark corner, in every tree, river and cave.

Symbolic magic was a powerful weapon in the hands of an unscrupulous Priesthood, and used freely to obtain a hold and influence over the devotees of fetishism. Rain-makers, witch-doctors, exorcisers of devils, magicians and conjurors all built up a lucrative profession for themselves by the simple expedient of cultivating and encouraging savage instincts in the people whose low mentality made them readily responsive to malicious influences.

Demonology flourished and spread like a deadly miasma over the minds and homes of the undeveloped "children of the soil and sun," and evil indeed were the results of such degradation and slavery of the spirit. Even a conglomeration of mysterious words became endowed with power; mantra, cabalistic signs and secret writings, attained great significance and were thought to be potent and powerful.

There is literally no end to the ramifications of the forms of superstitions which branched out from the parent tree of Animism. The survival of Nature-worship and its many side-lines is evident in the every day life of the average uneducated and low-caste Indian.

Talismans and charms: lucky and unlucky days; certain colours; bones amulets against the evil-eye; sacred words; signs; symbols, such as the Crescent Moon of Parvati; potents, and all the paraphernalia and minutia of the superstitious are in daily use among the lower classes of the country. And this is not confined to the Hindus by any means.

The belief in wizards, medicine-men, and other folk of that ilk, is so prevalent that the self-reliance and mental independence of the average peasant has been weakened and broken down by generations of cultivating such beliefs. In fact, the actual influence of superstition on the people is much too powerful to ignore; for there is no denying that the powers of suggestion and the reaction to such nervous imaginings is a potent factor against the development of freedom of the mind. There is undoubtedly an element of hypnotism which enters into the practice of magic; so much so, that things which are unreal, actually become real, and the effect is just the same in the end.

Taboos are the extensions of fears and negations, and react on the nervous and sensitive organism with deadly results. A belief in a thing creates the thing to the believer. If you believe in ghosts, ghosts really exist for you. And so it will be seen that Animism continues to flourish, century after century, in spite of the spread of civilization, progress and enlightenment.

Fetishism and Animism, as expressions of religious instincts, were the first steps along the pathway of conscious worship, a nucleus from which many other religions have evolved and developed. From Animism came polytheism and idolatry; and monotheism is but the upward step in the ladder of evolution.

One new faith is built not on the ashes, but on the salient points of the other, a sort of improved edition, designed to meet the needs of a growing and critical people. Now-a-days a reasoning being discards the dross and the obvious weaknesses of the foregoing systems of theology and religion and builds up structures on the old foundations, retaining inevitable "hangovers" which persist in the too human human-nature of the descendants of the ape-man, the *pithecanthropus erectus,* the dawn-man and the later developments of the *genushomo.*

When we realize that climatic influences are at work on man's reactions, and that the environment of the dweller in the tropical countries creates different causes and effects from what they would do in temperate or frigid zones; we understand that man in the East is more imaginative and impressionable, and more responsive to emotional influences. The Oriental requires something more in his religious expressions than the frozen immobility of an inhibited Quaker meeting, or the repressed rituals of Protestantism in general. He must have colour, warmth, variety and the richness of imagined fancies. He likes noise, demonstrations, and dramatics, and reacts with childlike frankness and naturalness to any appeal to his emotions.

His forms of religion are but a reflex of his own nature. "Man depicts himself in his God," and mirrors his nature in his instinctive beliefs, his theology, his philosophy and his superstitions.

Fantastic conceptions of deities are common in all Oriental countries, and are not confined to India, where, however, the polytheistic Hindu, the monotheistic Mohamedan and the detached philosophy of the Buddhist, all share qualities in common which are based on the survival of animistic beliefs.

A people's form of worship embodies and symbolizes their type of mentality and their indigenous natures. To them it is not enough to have faith in the invisible, but they must create the visible out of the invisible and thus materialize concrete expressions of faith.

Nature-worship naturally survives in a tropical land where the majority of inhabitants live in close and intimate contact with the soil. Their very systems of daily life are ordered by the various phases of Nature and their lives depend upon her moods. If rain is withheld, there is famine; if rain comes, there is plenty; and so they have come to depend on Nature for sustenance and have endowed her varied aspects with divine significance.

Animism is an instinctive faith which transcends the later modifications of rioting theological surmise, and these instincts, so much a vital part of man's vital being, pervade most modern faiths with more or less tangible evidence, according to the degree of culture and intelligence of the individual worshipper.

There are ten million undiluted Animists in India, and that figure does not include those faiths which though they have ostensibly foresworn a profession of belief in Animistic tenets, are still impregnated with its powerful and persistent influences.

"The proper study of mankind is Man," and in running over, in our mind's eye, the long spiral of evolution, we see that man is a changeling; a creature of dreams and fancies; of capricious impulses; of reactions begotten by the stirrings of emotional fervour; full of vagaries, of longings and questings; swayed in the grip of superstitions and fears; but always hopeful and always expressing faith in the ultimate good of mankind's destiny. This belief in compensation and benignity in the final Scheme of things is the golden thread that runs through the drab tapestry of bewildered and imperfect humanity.

Such flashes of light through the hopeless gloom of fear and superstitions, are our reasons for believing that "Man moves ever upward, working out the beast."

LILY STRICKLAND-ANDERSON

THE GREAT INFAMY

When trusted teachers broadcast lies,
Cry woe unto the people!
To church they are then called to pray
By Devil, astride on steeple.
Hardihood of bold assertion
Can ne'er replace the truth,
Endearing words, most soft and sweet,
To death crush homeless ruth.

MOHINIMOHAN CHATTERJI

ARABIA BEFORE ISLAM [1]

Necessity is the source of much of human civilization. In man, at different stages of his evolutional progress, exists a craving for enjoyment, for power, for beauty, for truth; and boundless, indeed, is this craving. The effort to compass and satisfy it is the main-spring of human progress and development. The ideal lies behind a mass of definite individual needs; and only when these have been met with and satisfied does the prospect widen far afield. This is the way of all civilizations. New needs spell new aims—to strive for the satisfaction of those needs may be called the capacity for civilization—to fulfil and attain them may be regarded as civilization itself. So, the history of the civilization of a people is the history of its growing needs or ideals, and of the attempt to satisfy those needs and to realize those ideals.

From this point of view we propose to treat early Arab civilization and its mission. Not that we regard Islamic Civilization as an indigenous creation, or even look upon the Arabs as its principal exponents. But among them, undoubtedly, arose the idea of the *oneness* of Islamic culture, embracing all Muslim peoples, and capable of extension beyond.

When we look at the modern Arabs we find it difficult to believe in their civilizing mission. Like Arabia itself—probably the least explored country of the Earth—its people, shut off from the world, are the most isolated and least accessible of mankind. Split up into a number of hostile tribes—leading a nomadic life, and given to mutual plunder—scarcely touched by the Spirit of Islam—and held together by a slender political tie—the inhabitants of Inner Arabia appear to be a people without any want or outlook—destined to pursue the self-same path for ever.

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[1] Joseph Hell, *Kultur der Araoer*, Chapter I.

And yet these were the very people whose ancestors, in the seventh century of the Christian era, swept like a flood over the ancient world, and stepped out, *not for the first time* to be sure, on to the stage of world-history. Modern research shows Arabia as holding a distinctive position in the history of the old Near East.

That Arabia was the original home of the Semites is an opinion shared by many—and, indeed, not without good reason; that the old civilized Babylonia, as early as the beginning of the third millennium before Christ, received its ruling population from Arabia is another widespread belief; and innumerable inscriptions on the Arabian rocks testify to a lization and a settled government there in pre-Christian s—not in any way inferior to any civilization and ernment of the then age.

The surprise caused by these beliefs vanishes when we sely consider the topographical peculiarities of Arabia, and member that the peninsula consists, not only of deserts l steppes, but also of exceedingly fertile country, cultivated thousands of years, studded with thriving villages and towns, and inhabited by settled populations. Such fertile territories were principally along the borders of the peninsula. In the South West was ‘Yeman,’ called even in antiquity, ‘Arabia Felix.’ In the South was Hadramaut, the home of cense, highly prized in the remote past. In the East, on Persian Gulf, was what we now call the fertile coast-land l-Hasa; and with but some slight breaks the entire east t was well-cultivated land. Rough and rugged and hilly was the country on the western coast. It has excellent pasture land now, but in those far off days it was better still. As for the Central Arabian high land of Najd, with its isolated mountains, its long stream valleys, the so-called *Wadis*, its steppes on which grazed the best Arabian horses, and Yamama, lying South-East, the central granary of Arabia—these, in the VIth and the VIIth centuries were, on the whole, cultivated just as well as many parts of contemporary Europe—in some places even better.

True, along with these cultivated lands with their settled populations, there was that wholly infertile and inhospitable stretch of land—useless for any kind of existence for want of water—which we invariably associate with Arabia, namely, the Desert. And it was unfortunate that these *nefuds* lay so sandwiched between the fertile tracts that the latter were wholly or almost wholly isolated from one another. Thus the greatest and the most terrible of the Arabian deserts—the Roba-el-Khaly[1]—so squeezes and hems in the people living along the South-East, South and South-Western coast, that no communication is possible between them and Central Arab with the result that the people of the South-East (Or and of the South (Mahra)—little affected by the fat inner Arabia—proceeded on their own independent line development.

To the dividing frontiers of the desert in the East of Tehma in the West—the burning sand-girdle by the sea is to be ascribed the separate existence which the South Western portion of Arabia led for some thousand years, away and apart from the rest of Arabia. Its power and influence was so widely-extended, for a while, that we must give this oldest part of Arab culture a detailed consideration. Numerous inscriptions which, during the last seventy years, have been found on the ruins in South Arabia, and which have been more and more thoroughly investigated (though not yet exhaustively), tell us of the existence of two kingdoms there in pre-Christian times. The long-maintained view that the two kingdoms continued, side by side, till the late Grecian Period is no longer sustainable in the face of the researches of Edward Glaser, which show that the kingdom of Ma'in

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[1] Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, p. 524, Vol. II, Roba-el-Khaly (the empty quarter). By this is commonly understood the great Middle-East of the Arabian peninsula, which is believed to be void of the breath of life !

was destroyed and absorbed by that of Saba.[1] Although there is no unanimity yet as to the ages of the two kingdoms, it will not be rash to trace back the kingdom of Ma'in to the second millennium before Christ, for the conditions of life continued there unaltered for thousands of years. Speaking of this kingdom, the oldest reports refer to its special indigenous
e—incense and myrrh—highly valued in Egypt—
o its felicitous position on the Red-Sea, marking it,
ime immemorial, as a commercial centre. We know,
r, how it extended its sphere of influence up to Gaza
Mediterranean, and how all along right up to the
mmercial stations and depots for storage of arms
the route. In all these respects the kingdom of Saba is scarcely distinguishable from that of Ma'in ; only the former assumes greater and greater prominence about the time when the position of the South-Western portion of Arabia was becoming shaky and insecure in the world of commerce. The boat-service introduced by the Ptolemies on the Red Sea did but little harm to the commercial interests

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[1] The theory that the rule of the Minaean kings preceded that of the Sabaean (and also that of the so-called Priest-kings) pre-supposes a much earlier date for the Minaean—(1200-700 B.C.) at the latest. Lately, however, the hypothesis of contemporaneity has been again defended by several scholars, particularly by Martin Hartmann and Edward Meyer. But Hartmann now admits that the golden age of the Minaean kingdom preceded that of the Sabaean ; yet he holds that the oldest Minaean and Sabaean inscriptions are contemporary. At the most it may be admitted that the oldest Sabaean inscriptions may have been contemporary with the latest Minaean.

The Minaean kings, for the protection of their incense trade, possessed a colony in the land of Midian, which is called Musran in the inscriptions ; a fact directly verified by the discovery of Minaean inscriptions in Al-ula (El-ola) by Enting. After the collapse of the Minaean kingdom (about 650 B.C.) the Sabaeans were probably the heirs of the Midianitic colony of the Minaeans, as we infer from the passages in the Old Testament. But already other Powers made themselves felt about this period in North West Arabia. Everything is in favour of the view that the Libyanites were the successors in North West Arabia of the Minaeo-Sabaeans, and the predecessors of the Nabataeans, and that they are, therefore, to be placed about 500-300 B.C. The Nabataean kingdom was brought to an end in 106 A.D. by the Romans. Two other kingdoms might be referred to here—those of the Lakhamids and of the Jafanids. The former was installed by the Persians on the old Babylonian-Arabian frontier, and the latter by the Byzantines in the land east of Jordan. Both were overthrown by Islam.—*Ency. of Islam*, *Sub.* Arabia, Vol. I, pp. 377-379.

of the Sabaeans in the North, for they continued as b (an inscription dating from the time of the Ptolemies pr this) to supply incense to all the great temples in Eg World-renowned was the wealth of Saba. Against th General of the Roman Emperor Augustus—Aelius Gallus—it made a bold and successful stand. After an initial success, he had to retire from the walls of Marib.

But gradually Saba sank from its exalted position. are unable to account for its decline and fall, but Arabs seem to connect it with the bursting of the da Marib. Even after this decline, the South Western c of Arabia came most in contact with the foreign po who felt kindly disposed towards it. Here the grea civilized powers of the age came into close quarters with each other, and sought to win the land over to the culture which each represented.

The Abyssinians—who, since the fourth century A.D. had accepted Christianity and had received support from the Byzantine Empire—were the first to rule this land. Against their domination both the Arab heathen and the very numerous Jews of South Arabia united. About 520 A.D. we find it under the rule of the Jewish king Abu Nawas. Precisely as the Christian Abyssinian rulers sought alliance with the Byzantines, so the Arab-Jewish Government sought the protection of the Persians—the then great pagan power. In the war which now broke out Christianity triumphed, and South Arabia became afresh an Abyssinian province. The Persians, however, never lost sight of this rich portion of Arabia, and in 570 A.D. they felt that the time had come for an attack upon Yeman. In shining array the Arab folk—embittered against the Christian Government—joined the Persian army, and thus, for the second time, the Abyssinians were driven out of South-Arabia. South-Arabia now received a Persian Governor, and was taxed according to the Persian system. But as the Persians were more eager for a share in the wealth of the land than bent on setting up an oppressive rule, the inhabitants felt satisfied with the new order of things. Nevertheless, it meant loss of national honour.

South Arabia was thus the gateway through which the two world powers—the Eastern Empire and Persia—entered into the Arabian peninsula. In the North the Syro-Arabian Desert barred their passage, but there was no such hindrance in the South. Despite, however, close contact and the capacity of the South Arabians to assimilate culture—these powers failed to impress their stamp upon the South-Arabian civilization. What civilization we find there, is their own—unaffected indigenous civilization.

But exceedingly fragmentary, unfortunately, is our knowledge of that civilization. What we do know, however, is sufficient to assure us of the existence of a civilization there; but, as regards its rise, growth, and extent, we can only look forward to future researches for light and information.

Judging from contemporary standards it is clear that the Arabs—when we first meet them in history—were by no means wild, savage people. We find them living in a network of tribal organization in which the individual always reckoned upon the protection of his tribe. The gathering of a number of tribes round one which had become specially powerful, led to the oldest kind of State-formation, but it did not involve the loss of tribal consciousness. In such a system the king held the first rank. On the gradual growth of the royal power, again, our light is scant and fitful. With good reason we may assume that, in the earliest times, the royal power was allied with priestly functions, and that its influence over the people, at its inception, was practically based on personal prestige and personal distinction. Only in the late Sabaean period emerged into prominence the conception of a king being the feudal over-lord of his subjects. Thenceforward we notice kings owning vast landed estates, which they grant as fiefs: issuing coins of gold, silver and copper, with their images on one side, and different emblems on the other (such as those of owls, bull-heads, etc. etc.). But these very coins, which have come down to us in considerable numbers, reveal to us afresh our ignorance of the development of their civilization. On the one hand they suggest a great dependence upon Greek, and, later on, on Roman patterns—on the other the images of the kings, the peculiarity of the coinage, the artistic sense of the designs, proclaim an independent development of the South Arabians themselves—however limited that development may be. In the old Arabian fashion these coins show the kings, with long, loose, descending hair; next, in long curled locks of hair; and, finally, with hair cropped short after the style of the Roman Emperors. Unmistakable also is the development in artistic skill. But it is singular that while the oldest coins show a relatively high finish and sureness of design, notably in details—and are on almost the same level as the latest ones—those that fall in between the two periods betray a sad luck of artistic power and skill. In sooth, however, the technique of coinage remained imperfect at all times.

A fitful light, like that cast on the institution of kingship by the coins, is shed on religion from another source. The numerous names of gods inscribed in the South-Arabian inscriptions might indicate great importance attached to religion there. We know, indeed, nothing certain as regards the outward shape or the essential attributes of these gods, except that they were made of stone. From the contents of the countless prayers, vows, thanksgivings, it seems that the South-Arabians believed as little in a life after death as in spiritual blessings. When, therefore, Pliny reports that incredibly large was the number of temples in South Arabia, he offers us a proof more of the powers of the priestcraft and of artistic tendencies of a certain kind than of the deep religious piety of the South Arabians.

In South Western Arabia we encounter works of art earliest in point of time. It supplied for building purposes granite, porphyry and marble. Besides the materials which the country offered—the close proximity of the plundering Beduins pressed home to the people the necessity of well-fortified dwelling-places. Thus South Arabia became a land of castles and citadels, and is rich in such ruins. The twenty-story high castle of Ghomdam in San'a; the temple of Marib, whose walls, ellipse-like, encircled a natural elevation and reached a height of 9½ metres; again the immense dam of Marib—the remains of which are still visible—these are so many witnesses of the high architectural development of the South-Arabians. These buildings demonstrate proportion and immensity, but proofs of the South Arabian sense of form we find in monuments of a very different kind. The oldest inscriptions on the South-Arabian rocks known to us go back to the tenth century before Christ. They astonish us by their symmetry and clearness of script. Moreover, many of them are adorned with manifold artistic ornamentations. We are, therefore, inclined to believe what the Arab geographer Hamadani reports regarding the ornamentations of the façades of the temples and castles in South Arabia.

"You see," says Hamadani, "figures of all kinds sketched on them: wild and ravening animals......eagles with flapping wings and vultures pouncing on hares......herds of gazelles hurrying to their death-trap, dogs with drooping ears, partly leashed and partly loose, and a man, with a whip, amidst horses".

We come across the best specimens of South-Arabian architecture, however, not in Yeman and Hadramaut, but on the edge of the Syrian desert in North Arabia, amidst the mountain chains of Hauran, whither, for economic reasons, a portion of the South-Arabian people emigrated.

Since remote times North Arabia also had its State-formations, but we hardly know anything more than the mere names of the oldest of them: Musur, Mijan, Meluch. In consequence of mutual rivalry these little States perished before Christ. In their place two other kingdoms attained a high position as commercial centres: the kingdom of the Nabateans which pushed its frontier from 200 to 100 B. C. deep into the interior of Arabia; and, after its fall, the kingdom of Palmyra, which was only destroyed in 271 A.D. by the Emperor Aurelian.

When we hear of a real Arab State of the kings of Lihjan, or when an inscription of 328 A.D. speaks of Imra-ul-Qais as one "who bore the diadem and ruled both Azad and Nizar"—we must not imagine that Arabia, about that time, was actually organized into a State, but merely that people coming into touch with the civilizations of the North-East and North-West—followed their fashion and adopted their titles.

We shall now pass on to the two States on the borders of North Arabia, which we notice shortly before the rise of Mahomed, and which stood facing the Persian and the Byzantine Empires.

The long, narrow strip of land facing the Persian Empire was called the kingdom of Hira. It has been painted by poetry and fiction in rich colours. Doubtless it was a home of culture—but hardly Arabian culture—rather a culture representing in all essentials, Persian culture.

Facing the Byzantine Empire was the Arab-Christian State of the Ghassanides. It had no permanent capital, but a permanent camp, which was its centre of activity. Its chiefs were called *Phylarks* by the Byzantines, and kings by the Arabs. However defective the organization of these States—their importance in the history of Arabia cannot be ignored. These two border States were in the pay of the two neighbouring Powers, and, as such, they took active part in the endless fights between the Persian and Byzantine Empires. Thus in the alternating fortunes of war they came to know the weaknesses of these powerful neighbours, as also the wealth and splendour of their cities. Riches have always exercised a mighty spell over the Arabs, and it was the main business of these buffer States to stay the overflow of the Arab hordes across the frontier in quest of gold. Even in pre-Islamite times this was attempted. In the second half of the fifth century the powerful tribe of Kinda—having its seat in central Arabia—succeeded to a kind of overlordship over other tribes. It formed a confederacy—of a very simple sort to be sure—under the leadership of its kings. In 480 A. D. one such king—Hajar—made an unsuccessful attack upon Hira. But this failure was compensated by the successful invasion of Palestine by Al-Harith in 496 A. D., and the payment by the Emperor Aurelian of a heavy sum to get rid of him from there. Encouraged by his success this very Al-Harith sought, now, to take Hira by storm, but he was not strong enough to cope with the situation. Fortune forsook him, the Kindites deserted him, and in 529 he met with his death at the hands of his enemies. The confederacy of Kinda then lost its weight and importance. Thus, at the beginning of the seventh century Central Arabia was not even externally organized as a State. (This makes it all the more remarkable that precisely that portion of Arabia which was wholly uninfluenced by the neighbouring civilizations should be the issuing-point of the great Islamic movement.) (That the real propelling cause was not religious but economical is now pretty well acknowledged.) But its details are still obscure and unknown. An ingenious theory explains the dessication of Arabia as the cause of the Arabian *Volkerwanderung*. Whatever may be the causes which, in conjunction with the rise of Islam, led to the world-historical revolution, the conditions of Inner Arabia, favourable to Islam—according to our present knowledge—may be thus summarised.

Corresponding to the double nature of the country, its inhabitants fall into two groups: the settled and the nomadic. The contrast between the two, however, is not very acute. In many things the towns-folk betray their nomadic origin, and share the striking characteristics of the Beduins. For instance, to suit the changing season, it is not rare for settled cultivators and even towns-folk to emigrate and wander from one place to another. On the other hand, the nomads are no mere gypsies who roam about for the sheer love of roaming. The lands which they occupy with their herd are always selected on account of its fertility and good pasturage. And wherever arable land is found in the great steppes, there the nomadic cultivators settle, and similarly, wherever a rich spring draws the shepherd and the caravan, there gradually grows up a market-place, a village, even a town. In spite, therefore, of the absence of a political organization there were in Central Arabia large towns and villages whose inhabitants, like the nomads, cherished tribal ties and upheld tribal rights.

Simple, indeed, were the legal rights of the Beduin: the first and foremost was his right to personal freedom; and this, notwithstanding the tie of kinship which united the individual to a family, to a tribe, to the south or to the north Arabian group. Since time immemorial the struggle for existence in Arabia has centred round water and pasturage. These struggles destroyed the sense of national unity, and developed an incurable *particularism*; each tribe deeming itself self-sufficient, and regarding the rest as its legitimate victims for murder, robbery and plunder. Rarely did they compound murder with *wergeld*—100 female camels. Usually they called for the blood of the offender, and when excitement became particularly great the blood-revenge extended even to the members of the entire tribe to which the offender belonged. If the struggle for existence split the Beduins up into fragments and made them hostile to each other; the common fight against stubborn and malignant Nature drew them closer together, and the result was the *one* duty which the old Beduins acknowledged and which they carried to a fault—hospitality.

Not unlike the oldest South and North Arabian States which waxed and waned with the rise and fall of commerce—in Central Arabia, too, commerce accompanied culture and civilization. The Arabs always had a passion for aromatics, and they imported these in great abundance—particularly musk—from India. From India also, across Aden, came the best swords, and from Æthiopia, by ship, came slaves. In addition to the import of these articles which were distributed to all parts of Arabia, there was a heavy inland trade in native goods. South Arabia supplied superfine leather and valuable materials for dress. North Arabia supplied corn and weapons. At Al-Hira flourished a saddle industry. But how was trade possible amidst plunder and feud? And, how, again, in view of the territorial peculiarity of Arabia, where between cultivated lands the desert intervened making intercourse difficult, and well-nigh impossible? Against the perils of insecurity the Arabs—from time immemorial—sought and found a remedy *in the introduction of a holy peace.* While eight months were allotted to the savage sport of feuds—four were set apart for complete peace and cessation of hostilities. Of these four months three followed in unbroken succession—the eleventh, the twelfth and the first month of the year—the fourth fell in the middle of the year and called a sudden halt to strife. While the three successive months of the peace were reserved for religion—the fourth was set apart for commerce. For the one as for the other purpose the Beduins of Arabia came to the inhospitable but none the less the easily accessible Hijaz; for Hijaz was accessible alike from the South, from the North, and from the West. Every tribe, in its own territorial limits, had one or several holy stones, trees or springs—sufficient to satisfy its modest religious needs. But as far back as memory can go, Hijaz has served as a meeting-place of many tribes, and as such the sacred things there have borne the same relation as local things do to things national. This may well have been the reason why a black stone in Mecca, set up in a cube-shaped building, called the Kaba, acquired a more and more spreading reputation, and the ceremonies connected therewith and the rest of the sacred things in Mekka a wider and wider recognition.[1] The result, in the end, was that the performances of these ceremonies—the *Umra* of Mekka—came to be regarded as an inviolable duty in a large portion of Arabia. In the valley of Arafa some miles north-east of Mekka, in Muzdalifa two hours' journey from Arafa, and in Mina two hours' journey further still, offerings were made to certain idols. Even the worship of these idols, interconnected with one another by a process of running (*Hajj*) from one place to the other, became the universal worship of Central Arabia. Thus, in the months of the sacred peace, the *Hajj* and the *Umra* were performed by many thousands of Arabs. Hijaz, therefore, even in the pre-Islamite times, was the centre of the religious life of the Arabs. As everywhere, wherever a large concourse of men takes place, so here trade throve. And, as a natural accompaniment of trade, the most delightful feature of the *Umra* and the *Hajj* was the great annual market held in the sacred neighbourhood. Here Arab life and activity reached their culminating point. The old Arabs made a sort of wine from dates, honey, wheat and barley. To their own native wines the Jews and the Christians added wines made of grapes. These wines they brought to the annual market; and there, in the wine booths, sat the sons of the desert, sipping wines out of cups and glasses, and listening to the merry tunes of the singing girls provided for the enhancement of their joy. Among the traders and professional men who set up their stalls, the farrier and the veterinary surgeon rolled into one played an important rôle. The liveliest interest was evinced in the various competitors who sought distinction at these gatherings. Here the poets recited their verses, and here the young aspirants submitted their works to the judgment of the masters. In fine—whoever wished to make a name in Arabia must do so here in the markets of Hijaz ; in Uqas, in Dhul Majas, in Mekka. When the market was over—Dhul Majas and Uqas became empty and lost their importance. Mekka, however, developed into a powerful town and, after the fall of the Himyarite rule in South Arabia, became the most flourishing city of Arabia. This pre-eminence it secured, not by its sanctuary, for every market-place had its own—not even by its fair, for other places had fairs too—still less by its geographical position, for it lay in an inclement, barren basin. To what then must we ascribe this ascendancy of Mekka ? To the intellectual superiority of the Quraish, as Julius Wellhausen has conclusively proved. Happy relations with the Northern Semites—particularly the Jewish element—may have influenced the intellectual awakening of the Mekkans. Commerce which extended to Syria, to Al-Hira, to South Arabia, certainly brought fresh stimulus and aspiration to them. Thus it was that, amongst the men who could read and write before Islam, a proportionately large number were Mekkans. We would, perhaps, have hesitated unconditionally to credit this information had we not known that Mohamed's first wife—trained in pre-Islamic days—carried on an extensive commerce of her own throughout the whole of Arabia. In spite of a lack of official organization—in matters of common concern we find, according to Wellhausen, a clear-sighted public spirit in Mekka, such as we find nowhere else in Arabia. Although every family was essentially autonomous, yet the interest of the town was placed first and foremost. There—*there was the authority*. The beginnings of a real town-organization are manifest—simple and small indeed—but none the less very remarkable in Arabia.

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[1] For further information, see Khuda Bukhsh, *Islamic Civilisation*, pp. 48-50.

Thus, in the VIth and the beginning of the VIIth century, in Mekka and in the fairs of Hijaz, we best perceive the real need of the free Arab and the nature of his civilisation. What the Arab lacked was the consciousness of national unity. For him there existed only the tribe and the family but no Arab nation. What he further lacked was a sense of subordination. The idea that subordination was necessary, even a virtue, was an idea absolutely foreign to him. True enough, the Arabs had tribal chiefs, and to these chiefs they even showed regard and respect, but no chief had the *right* to command, and no one the *duty* to obey. These were the two striking defects of the Arab. To obviate them no one had hitherto dreamed or striven. Apart from these defects, they were yet a primitive but not an unimpressionable people.

The buildings of Mekka—including the town-hall and the Kaba—did not show any great skill or experience in architecture, and when we hear of Mohamed cleansing the Kaba of idols and removing the image of a pigeon, our illusion vanishes on being told that the image was the image made out of palm rind. About this time the artistic taste of the Arabs showed itself mainly in poetry and eloquence. At the court of Al-Hira, at the fair of Ukaz—everywhere where people met and offered prizes—there the poets appeared and declaimed their poems—the *Kasidas.* These *Kasidas* were all alike in their conventionality. All had for their subject description of the loved-one; portraiture of camel and of horse; account of a journey or a hunt; occasionally a picture of a drinking-bout. Very rarely do we catch a breath of real poetry in all this mass of versification, yet we cannot but admire the force and compactness of language and keen observations of nature therein. Nor can we withhold our tribute of admiration for their gift in using to advantage the materials they had at their command. And to their credit too it is that they found a large audience and wide appreciation, that these poetical productions in the VIth century—in the last pre-Islamic century—show a power and beauty never attained again, and that contemporaneously with this poetical effolerescence there came the development and cultivation of the Arabic script. All this suggests an intellectual awakening for which we cannot fully account. These facts explain the existence in Arabia and specially in Mekka of men who were dissatisfied with the existing religion and who sought light in Christianity and Judaism and built up a sort of eclectic religion, at once new and progressive. It is not, therefore, strange that when Mohamed appeared on the scene he was regarded as one of these seekers after truth.

In this connexion the condition of Inner Arabia, in the VIth and the VIIth centuries, offers a striking resemblance to the condition of the South-Eastern Germany about this time. From the beginning to the end of the VIIth century Frankish missionaries traversed the country and strove to introduce Christianity, but with exceedingly small success. They succeeded no better than did the Hanifs—the seekers after truth—of Mekka, whose teachings were of no avail against the tenacious conservatism of the Arabs.

By the time Christianity was firmly established in Southern Germany the whole face of the world had changed. Long before Bishop Rupprecht (696) helped Christianity to victory in Bavaria—in the East the Heathen Empire of the Persians had fallen to pieces, and the leading Christian Power—the Byzantine Empire—had lost its best provinces—Syria and Egypt. And in the midst of the brilliant centres of civilization in Ctesiphon, in Damascus, in Alexandria, Sons of the Desert established themselves and ruled, representing a wholly new religion—Islam.

S. Khuda Bukhsh

THE ILLUSTRIOUS GUEST OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PADUA[1]

I

We had Dr. Surendranath Dasgupta, Professor of Philosophy in the University of Calcutta, as the honoured guest of our University for all the day of the 10th May. This illustrious author of the "History of Indian Philosophy" who is well known to all the orientalists, had visited Italy in course of another journey which he made some years ago, and had taken back to his country an unforgettable memory of Italy and a fixed idea of again returning back to us. Italy is for political, artistic and scientific culture of modern times, what India is for philosophy and metaphysical culture, and the country "par excellence," the fatherland of every man that knows and thinks. Dr. Dasgupta had come to Naples during the inauguration of the seventh centenary of the University, he read before the Congress a paper, few days ago, containing his researches on the relations of Crocian philosophy with that of Buddhism, dealing with the points of contact with Hegel and showing how largely and profoundly Indian philosophy had anticipated European philosophy. At the Naples Congress he came to know one of the teachers of our University Professor, Ambroggio Ballini, Professor of Sanskrit, and the Indian and the Italian pundit became immediately great friends, who certainly rightly interpreted the thoughts and sentiments of the colleagues of the faculty of philosophy and letters and of the whole University in inviting Professor Dasgupta to Padua. The professor of Calcutta was glad to accept the invitation. Having arrived to our city he admired the learned organization of our glorious university, visited the Aula Magna (great hall), the Masco of the Centenary and the old Anatomical theatre. He was very much interested in the works of experimental psychology of Professor Benussi, with whom he exchanged ideas and they mutually appreciated each other in the varied arguments they had on diverse topics. He was accorded a hearty welcome in the absence of Professor Vicentini who was indisposed for the time, by Professor Gresotto and Andreotti at the Institute of Physics where he had admired the seismographic, radiotelegraphic and electromagnetic apparatus and the wonderful new instrument invented by

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[1] From l'Italia Universitaria, 15th May, 1924,—Translated from Italian.

Thomson in which all varieties of sounds are produced by electrical vibrations, and the rich collection of apparatus, specially those that were of use to Righi for his great discoveries. He was pleased also to receive a gift from the great Rector of some of the publications of the Centenary.

In the morning he was present at a lecture of Sanskrit and was greeted with applause by the students of Professor Ballini, Drs. Rossi and Mrs. Marinoni, Misses Casteggina and Turcato and Mr. Muggia all of whose preparations in the sacred language and culture of ancient India he highly appreciated and he was very pleased with the answers that they gave to the questions that he was pleased to ask them in course of the conversation.

Professor Dasgupta after having talked in Sanskrit with Professor Ballini and after his conversation with the scholars and teachers, was pleased to recite some passages from Rigveda and the Upanishads with the traditional old Indian melody—a melody which certainly calls back to memory the solemn phrases of Gregorian chants together with certain modern recitations. He left Padua on Sunday morning for Paris and London on his way back to India in July, very pleased and happy at the reception accorded to him at Padua and Naples, proud of having seen the study of the classical thought and genius of his country so honourably represented in our seven hundred years old university. He was greeted by all those who were able to admire his great geniality and his profound wisdom.

II

THE MYSTERIOUS INDIA[1]

A conversation with Dr. Surendranath Dasgupta,
Professor at the University of Calcutta.

Day before yesterday we had the welcome visit of an illustrious representative of Indian culture, Dr. Surendranath Dasgupta, the author of "History of Indian Philosophy" the first important attempt to systematise historically the philosophy of India. Professor Surendranath Dasgupta who came here to join with us to participate in the deliberations of the Congress of Philosophy at Naples is an illustrious example of his race. He is an apostle of the reconciliation of European and Indian thought and as such has a vast knowledge of the occidental philosophical culture, but at the same time the rational and religious presuppositions of the civilization to which he belongs are so rooted in his spirit that to it is co-ordinated all his conceptions of the development of human thought: so that it immediately strikes us that there must be insurmountable difficulties in the work of reconciliation for which he longs.

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[1] From "Il Popolo Venuto." 13th May, 1924—Translated from Italian.

Conversing with him one is verily persuaded of the almost passionate anxiety with which he wishes to express even the finer subtleties of the philosophical schools which dispute the field amongst us, but his ardour and vivacity manifest themselves, specially in the defence which he gives of the fundamental ideas on which rests the life of his own great country.

Returning from the Congress of philosophy at Naples, Professor Dasgupta before leaving for London *via* Paris was pleased to accept the invitation of Professor Ambrogio Ballini, Professor of Sanskrit who was certainly voicing the sentiments of his colleagues in inviting him to visit the glorious University of Padova.

Professor Dasgupta visited at first with great interest the laboratory of experimental psychology of Prof. Benussi and answered a number of questions which showed his great knowledge of the problems which were connected with the subject of experimental psychology.

After that he was present to the great joy of the students at a lecture of Professor Ballini questioning the students and showing sincere satisfaction with the method followed in the study of Sanskrit which he said completely corresponded with the method of teaching followed by the Indian students. He also was pleased to recite from memory passages from the Rigveda and also philosophical texts with the characteristic modulations of Indian melody. He often talked with Professor Ballini in Sanskrit.

Professor Dasgupta then paid a visit to the institute of physics, where in the absence of Professor Vicentini who was indisposed, he was received by Professors Gresotto and Andreotti. He displayed his lively satisfaction at this visit expressing himself in these words.

"The Institute of physics has struck me by its vast extent and by the great quantity of scientific materials at its disposal, besides the abundance of apparatus in the great hall of mechanical appliances. I have admired the wealth of instruments scattered throughout the laboratories and used continuously for scientific research. For example, among the appliances in use I was able to witness the working of a generator of alternating currrents by means of ionic valves of Italian construction: currents which, by means of the telephone, produce the most varied and graduated sounds; I also saw in action a modern electrostatic machine whose effects are extraordinary.

I was then shown by the Director of the Institute, Professor Vicentini the Seismographic apparatus, so well known for their great sensitiveness, and I was very much interested in the exhibition shown me of the seismographic charts obtained by means of those instruments. I was greatly attracted by the charts made by these delicate instruments some time ago on the occasion of the transmission of terrestial waves produced by an earthquake in South Eastern Asia. From them I was able to realise the extraordinary improvement in sensitiveness which Professor Vicentini has introduced in his seismographic pendulums, by producing in them an increase in the period of pendular oscillation by the application of magnetic forces."

Professor Dasgupta then visited the monuments of the city and was profoundly impressed with the Bassilica del Santo. To all whom he had an opportunity of conversation he manifested his delight at the love and interest which he found in Italy for his own country, and he expressed the conviction that nothing but good could come of the greater intimacy in the intellectual relations between Italy and India. He said also that he would carry away a most happy memory of the hearty welcome he had received at Naples and Padua specially from the professors of the University

He ended his day as the very welcome guest of Dr. Carlo Foa Professor of Physiology and of his amiable wife Mrs. Foa.

We said above that Dr. Dasgupta is a professor of European Philosophy at the University of Calcutta and in the conversation which we were fortunately able to have with him, we asked him some questions concerning the method of teaching in philosophy there at Calcutta.

" The teaching," he said, " is given in six classes and in each class a special mode of instruction is used. European philosophy is reviewed historically in its traditional subdivisions into Logic, Metaphysics, Ethics and Psychology. A special treatment is accorded to Christian philosophy of St. Augustine and St. Thomas Aquinas."

" But what according to you is the connection between European philosophical thought and that of India ? " .

" I think that the philosophical systems of Europe have been anticipated by those of India; and this connection I have sought to develop in my contribution to the Congress of Philosophy at Naples.

In fact, it is my conviction that much of what is to-day considered as an achievement of modern times in the sphere of philosophical thought in Europe was anticipated long ago in the ancient systems of India—systems which even up to the present day have been very little studied by European philosophers owing to a lack of thorough knowledge of

Sanskrit, the language in which the greater part of these philosophical systems was written. If Indian philosophy were studied from the original works by those who occupy themselves particularly with philosophy, it would reveal itself well fitted to open new horizons of thought and to initiate new methods which one might call "comparative philosophy."

"Has Benedetto Croce been also anticipated in Indian thought?"

"You know I dealt with this very matter at the Congress at Naples. I said that the system of Croce seems to have its remote origin in Buddhist thought. I stated that the system of Croce may be said to have five fundamental positions.

1. The antimetaphysical character of philosophy.
2. The antiverbalist character of its logic.
3. The difference between intuition and concept.
4. The identity of philosophy and history.
5. The spiritual nature of all phenomena.

All these are exactly the fundamental positions of Buddhism, according to the expositions of Buddhistic philosophy by Dharmakīrtti, Ratnakīrtti and others.

I have not, however, failed to note the differences between the Buddhist doctrines and the philosophy of Croce. And the distinguished Neopolitan philosopher Croce, who had not taken any part in the deliberations of the Congress previous to my paper, but who was pleased kindly to take the chair on this occasion, expressed to me at the end of the lecture, his most lively gratification and had the satisfaction of informing me that my paper had aroused in the Congress the greatest interest in India and in Indian philosophical thought." We wished, however, to lead Professor Dasgupta on to a ground more familiar to us, the political, and we tried to change the subject by asking him if pragmatism which among us has had an influence in certain political developments had raised its head in India at all.

Pragmatist philosophy although having an independent development certainly has precedents in India and specially in Jainism. There is no doubt that in India, too, the development of philosophic thought has been strictly connected with that of national life. All the more because among us religion is the basis of all the manifestations of our life. In my opinion, religious thought is principally emotional, but when this emotion is intellectualised, it becomes philosophy.

In Europe, on the other hand, the development of philosophical thought has often followed a path divergent from religion.

" But not in the middle ages " replied promptly and enthusiastically Dr. Surendranath Dasgupta. " Philosophy then was the handmaiden of religion."

This enthusiastic appeal to the middle ages, made by such a distinguished representative of a culture so remote from ours produced a very welcome and profound impression upon us which we need not hide. But Dr. Surendranath Dasgupta was even more decided when we mentioned to him the school of philosophical thought which in Italy accept violence as a mode of moral persuasion.

The philosophy of Gentile, he said, was atheistic, this explains how it admits violence.

Our distingnished guest thereupon dilated at length on the concept of religious toleration which is common in India. Truth according to the Indian schools is one, but varied are the ways of reaching it. It is the sea to which all the rivers of thought flow and from such a concept is derived a tolerance of which we have not even an idea and this obliges us to admit only one type of resistance to evil, namely the moral. For the rest it is the opinion of this great representative of Indian thought that if Europe admits violence in international and social relations, it is because Europe has stayed far from Christianity.

We wanted to have some information and better still some criticism of the Indian nationalist movement. But Dr. Surendranath Dasgupta who had cheerfully been so free in expressing his convictions in the speculative order withdrew into a reserve, which we did not succeed in breaking down. Gandhi, in his view, is a great man who has sacrificed everything for his country. The English themselves recognise his greatness. He is a man whose fundamental principle of religion is not to do harm to anyone and in consequence his is a policy of passivity.

But when we wished to know what he thought of the practical possibility of the movement initiated by Gandhi, Dr. Surendranath Dasgupta answered thoughtfully and seriously " On that I do not wish to express my opinion."

And thus the mystery in which remote India is enveloped remains dark and deep and our curiosity is unappeased.

AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA

III

The important part played by cattle in the agricultural economy of India makes their care and improvement a matter of first rate concern. Whether it be for supplying manure, or ploughing, or raising water from wells, or threshing grain or carrying produce, or working the primitive oil-mill, the cattle are the principal co-adjutors of the ryots. Meat-eating is not yet a national habit in India, but as suppliers of milk, again, they are greatly in demand. No doubt, there are some good breeds of cattle in India, such as the Hissar, Dhanni, Hariana, and Sahiwal breeds, but, " owing to climatic conditions, combined to a great extent with the ignorance and apathy peculiar to indigenous cattle-breeding, neglect, starvation, in-breeding, and the usual anti-castration attitude," [1] there is a general tendency to deterioration. There is also at the same time an increasing demand for the purer types, and as a proportionate reduction in the supply, almost leading to the extinction of some of the better breeds.[2] The problem in regard to cattle improvement is twofold: that of keeping the existing cattle alive, and secondly, of improving their quality. The provision of proper food and shelter, therefore, forms the first step in any programme of improvement. Generally speaking, the ryot does not grow any grass or fodder crop, but is content to let his cattle fare as best as they can on the grass they can pick off the fields and roadside during the wet season, and the stubble and straw of the cereal crops. The breaking up of the grazing areas and the reservation of forests considerably reduced their food-supply, and in a

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[1] Report on the Operations of the Agricultural Department, 1918-1919, p. 132.

[2] *Cf.* The Veehur cows of Travancore which had a good reputation for high milk yields so recently as two decades ago, are now practically extinct.

Resolution of March 1, 1883, the Government of India had to emphasise the great usefulness of such fodder reserves during times of drought. The various Famine Commissions, too, have looked with anxiety at the absence of due provision of fodder even in normal times, while, during the abnormal famine seasons, the cattle mortality caused thereby has been very severe.[1] The extension of arable cultivation has also trenched on the areas available for grazing so that the question of providing a sufficient fodder supply is becoming more urgent than ever. The difficulties in the way of an extension of fodder cultivation are that it requires fairly good land, some irrigation water, and some capital, all of which could be turned to more profitable account by the cultivation of food-grains or of the more valuable crops. Not unfrequently the cultivator who is enterprising enough to start on the new line would find that the Mahajan refuses to advance money for the growing of a crop which, unlike the cereals, will not benefit him directly. The Agricultural Department has been pointing out the advantages of putting lands under fodder crops; and, despairing of gaining easy converts, has itself taken the matter in hand. The scheme initiated by my friend Mr. G. Keatinge, formerly Director of the Bombay Agricultural Department, for storing grass and dried juar stalks in portable form in good years for use in periods of scarcity has been found not only useful, but also financially successful, and during the recent fodder famine in Ahmednagar, three and a half lakhs of lbs. of first class dry fodder were issued from the Kopergaon Depot.[2] Famine camps for cattle had also to be organised in Bombay early in 1919, and by the end of March, over 4,000 cattle subsisted on cactus alone in the camps of Ahmednagar. Conditions such as these are by no means conducive to the improvement of cattle; and any attempt at improvement must of necessity proceed along the line of a surer provision of cattle food.[1] The importance of stock-feeding, however, will be realised only when it becomes economically sound for the cultivator to breed and rear cattle. The high prices which good draught and milch cattle fetch now-a-days, the demand that is springing up for Indian cattle of the best sort in foreign countries, the abnormal rise in the price of all sorts of dairy produce, and the need of the cultivator himself for strong cattle,—all tend to indicate the fostering of cattle-breeding on dual purpose lines, *viz.*, dairying and draught, as the best solution of the economic problem involved.[2] A scheme for the investigation of cattle-breeding and of dairying was drawn up by the Board of Agriculture in India in 1916, and has lately come into operation, but it is too early yet to speak of its work.[3]

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[1] See Report of the Famine Commission of 1901, pp. 72-76.

[2] Agricultural Operations in British India, 1920-21, p. 73.

A reference must be made in this connection to the work of the Civil Veterinary Department, which was first constituted in 1889. Cattle diseases such as rinderpest, anthrax, and foot and-mouth disease, have been leading to frightful losses, and the main duty of the Department is to ward off these diseases. The general ignorance of the farmer, and his suspicious attitude towards the young veterinary assistant sent out by the Department, have prevented its work from being as useful as it would otherwise have been, but the number of cases brought to the hospitals and dispensaries for treatment and inoculation against rinderpest is steadily on the increase, showing that the confidence of the cattle-owners is being slowly won. The following figures tell their own tale: the number of students in Veterinary Schools and Colleges rose from 319 in 1912-13 to 614 in 1920-21; dispensaries increased from 374 to 574 in the same period; the number of veterinary Assistants rose from 849 to 1,554; of cases treated in hospitals, from 656,296 to 1,096,834; and of inoculations, from 467,860 to 856,583. With an estimated cattle population of 146 millions scattered throughout the country, it is idle to expect that 1,554 veterinary Assistants (who form the backbone of the Department) and 574 dispensaries can produce any appreciable effect either in checking mortality or in combating disease; and one of the principal matters to which the newly established Ministries of Development will have to address themselves will be the building-up of an adequate veterinary organisation.

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[1] Apart from preventive measures like those indicated above, the Dept. has not been able to do such, except indirectly through increasing straw yields. It must, however, be remembered that a decrease in the area under pasture need not always be accompanied by a shortage in the fodder supply. Compare Sir A. D. Hall: "Agriculture after the War," p. 24, where he says that a given area of land will produce when under the plough, in addition to its usual yield of wheat and barley, just as much cattle food as the same area of land under grass. Also p. 32. "We may conclude that the crops from land under the plough, when used for feeding cattle, will produce of either meat or milk more than twice as much as the same land will yield when under grass."

[2] The lesser profits derivable from cattle-raising as compared with crop-growing accounts for the neglect of cattle-breeding in India: and until the price of draught cattle rises to the cost of production in the arable areas, things can hardly be expected to adjust themselves. See p. 113, Moral and Material Progress Report for 1920.

[3] See "Agricultural Operations in British India," 1919-20, p. 133.

A great deal of valuable research work on the nature of soils and their treatment, fertilisers, diseases of crops, and other kindred matters is being carried on at Pusa and other agricultural institutes, and considerable headway has been made in the provision of suitable educational facilities by the establishment of agricultural colleges at Pusa,[1] Poona, Cawnpore, Sabour, Nagpur, Lyallpur, and Coimbatore; and of veterinary colleges at Bombay, Lahore, Calcutta and Madras, and of the Imperial Bacteriological Laboratory at Muktesar. When laying the foundation stone of the Phipps Research Institute at Pusa in April, 1905, Lord Curzon expressed the hope that it will, in course of time, become "the centre of a great organisation with ramifications extending to all parts of the Indian Continent, training a series of native students who will devote their acquired knowledge to the practical pursuit of agriculture, and able to point to the tangible results of successful experiments, both in the quality of seeds and plants, in the destruction of pests, and in improvements of breeds of cattle." Subsequent experience has shown that the training of a few students will not, by itself, usher in an era of progressive agriculture. The object with which the agricultural colleges were founded was largely defeated when it was found that the majority of the students did not intend to apply their acquired knowledge to their own farms, but were looking forward to obtaining employment in the Government Agricultural Departments. A more promising line of agricultural education was the starting of demonstration farms. The appalling illiteracy of the people places narrow bounds on the utility of leaflets, circulars, etc., by means of which information is disseminated in the more enlightened countries. Ocular demonstration is, therefore, the only method to be relied on; and this is now being carried on, not only in the Government seed farms, demonstration farms, and implement depots, but also in many places in the ryots' own lands. That the propaganda work of the Department even under these unfavourable conditions is yielding some result is evident from the increased demand for improved seeds, manures, and implements, and from the widening areas laid down to the new crops.[1] In South India, in particular, the cultivator has already learnt to look upon the agricultural expert as a friend and a guide, and his willingness to learn the new methods and processes is being hailed in responsible quarters as the dawn of a new era of intensive cultivation. It is difficult to assess in £ s. d. the value of the work thus being done; much of it is capital expenditure, and the dividend-yielding stage can hardly be considered to have yet begun; but some idea of the profits awaiting the improved methods may be formed from Mr. J.

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[1] Research Institute for post-graduate study.

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[1] The official review of Agricultural Operations in India for 1920-21 published a statement showing the acreage under the crops evolved by the Department in its various Laboratories.

Mackenna's estimate in 1913 that the increase in the value of agricultural produce due directly to the Department's economic work on crops was in the neighbourhood of 2·3 millions sterling.

Encouraging as is the progress already made, it must be remembered that the New Agriculture has not yet touched more than the outermost fringe of the vast agricultural population of the country. A reference to the agricultural conditions prevailing in England during the opening years of Queen Victoria's reign shows that, in the essentials, they more or less approximate to modern conditions in India. "No one who studies the agriculture of 1837," says the distinguished historiographer of English Farming, "can fail to notice the perpetual contrast, often in the most glaring form, between the practices of adjoining agriculturists. A hundred farmers plodded along the Elizabethan road, while a solitary neighbour marched in the track of the twentieth century......The great need was the existence of some agency which would raise the general level of farming by making the best practices of the best agriculturists' common knowledge. The problem was not readily solved. To diffuse scientific and practical information among agriculturists was difficult seventy years ago. Books were expensive, and those for whom they were written were often unable to read......Extravagant promises and incorrect science too often discounted the value of useful suggestions. What was really wanted was ocular demonstration of the superiority of the new methods,-or the example of men of authority who combined scientific with practical knowledge." [1] These are the conditions, and these the problems, that Agricultural India is facing to-day.

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[1] Lord Ernle, English Farming Past and Present," Chap. XVII.

NOTES.

I.—*Agricultural Statistics of British India.*

The actual area of British India, excluding Native States, is 622,468,000 acres, as shown by the village records, as against 625,149,000 acres according to the professional survey. For the purpose of agricultural statistics, this area is classified as shown below :

	Acres.	Percentage to total area.
Forests	88,323,000	14
Not available for cultivation ...	145,770,000	23
Culturable waste (other than fallow)	113,415,000	18
Current fallows	52,135,000	9
Net sown area	222,825,000	36
TOTAL ...	622,468,000	100

The term Forests above includes "any land classed or administered as forests under any legal enactment dealing with forests." Of the total forest area, 25% lies in Burma, 19% in the Central Provinces and Berar, 15% in the Madras Presidency, 11% in the United Provinces, 10% in the Bombay Presidency, and the remaining 20% in the other provinces. The area not available for cultivation includes land absolutely barren or unculturable, or covered by buildings, water, and roads, or otherwise appropriated to uses other than agriculture. About 33% of this lies in Burma, 15% in Madras, 10% in Sind, and 9% in the Punjab. Culturable waste other than fallow represents land available for cultivation, but not taken up, the main reason therefore being that, under existing conditions, it is not profitable to do so. It also includes areas such as groves not classed in the sown area and also areas under bamboos and thatching grass, when not forming part of the forest area. Of the total culturable waste land, 22% is in Burma, 14% in the Punjab, 12% each in Assam and the

Central Provinces and Berar, 11% in Madras, and the remaining 29% in the other provinces.[1]

Principal crops : The following table represents, in percentages to the total cropped area, the areas occupied by the principal crops :

Crops.		1912-13.	13-14.	14-15.	15-16.	16-17.	17-18.	18-19.	19-20
Food-grains	...	78·9	77·7	78·6	80·1	78·9	78·4	77·9	78·4
Condiments and Spices	..	0·6	0·5	0·5	0·6	0·6	0·6	0·6	0·6
Sugar	...	1·1	1·1	0·9	1·0	1·0	1·1	1·3	1·1
Fruits and Vegetables	...	2·1	2·3	2·3	2·2	2·2	2·2	2·4	2·2
Miscellaneous Food-crops	...	0·5	0·5	0·4	0·4	0·4	0·4	0·5	0·5
Total Food Crops	...	83·2	82·1	82·7	84·3	83·1	82·7	82·7	82·8
Oil-seeds	...	5·9	6·0	5·9	5·6	5·5	5·3	4·6	4·9
Fibres	...	7·2	8.0	7·5	5·8	6·6	7·2	7·7	7·4
Dyes and Tanning Materials	...	0·2	0·2	0·2	0·3	0·5	0·5	0·3	0·3
Drugs and Narcotics	...	0·8	0·8	0·8	0·8	0·8	0·8	1·0	0·9
Fodder Crops	...	2·3	2·4	2·5	2·8	3·1	3·1	3·2	3·2
Miscellaneous Non-food Crops	...	0·4	0·5	0·4	0·4	0·4	0·4	0·5	0·5
Total Non-food Crops	...	16·8	17·9	17·3	15·7	16·9	17·3	17·3	17·2
TOTAL	...	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Geographical distribution of crops (1919-20) :

Food-grains.—19% of the total area under food grains was in the United Provinces, 15% in Madras, 14% in Bihar and Orissa, 11% each in Bengal and the Punjab, 10% in Bombay, and 8% in the Central Provinces.

Oil-seeds.[2]—Of the total area under oil-seeds, 21% was in Madras, 17% in Bihar and Orissa, 15% in the Central

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[1] Figures for 1919-20.

[2] Linseed, sesamum, raye and mustard, etc.

Provinces and Berar, 12% each in Bengal and Burma, 8% in the Punjab, 7% in Bombay, and 5% in the United Provinces.

Sugar-cane.—The United Provinces lead with 53% of the total Indian area under sugarcane, followed by the Punjab with 18%, Bihar and Orissa with 10%, Bengal with 8%, and Madras with 4%.

Cotton.—The principal cotton tracts are:—Central Provinces and Berar, with 30% of the total Indian area under cotton, Bombay with 28%, Madras with 15%, the Punjab with 14%, and the United Provinces with 8%.

Jute.—88% of the jute area lies in Bengal, and the remaining 12% in Bihar and Orissa and Assam.

Indigo.—Madras leads with 42% of the indigo area,—followed by Bihar and Orissa with 23%, the United Provinces with 20%, and the Punjab with 9%.

Live-stock, ploughs and carts. (Those marked * are in units of thousands).

Province.	Bovine.	Ovine.*	Others.*	Ploughs.*	Carts.*	100 acres of sown area Oxen and Buffaloes to	100 of population.
Bengal ...	24,724	4,396	126	4,448	737	101	55
Madras ...	22,294	16,515	181	4,287	1,037	67	54
Bombay ...	8,184	2,890	205	1,094	625	30	54
Sind ...	1,818	1,592	300	264	57	45	52
U. P. ...	29,764	6,100	764	4,872	841	84	63
Bihar and Orissa ...	20,180	4,079	194	3,036	494	79	59
Punjab ...	14,409	7,086	1,265	2,244	302	56	74
Burma ...	5,983	255	115	665	669	39	57
N.-W. P. ...	1,132	834	200	213	10	49	50
C. P. & Berar	11,626	1,169	183	1,431	908	49	83
Assam	5,472	796	20	942	48	797	82
Ajmere-Merwara	293	406	12	40	11	86	58
Delhi ...	136	30	10	17	6	64	33
Coorg ...	145	3	...	31	1	101	83
Manipur ...	6	1	...	1	...	86	86
TOTAL ...	146,166	46,152	3,577	23,585	Average 5,746	for Br. 66	India. 61

Of the live-stock, the bovine class (oxen and buffaloes) is the most important, and its distribution as compared to sown area and population is shown in the table above. It will be seen from the figures that the U.P. accounted for 20% of the entire bovine population, while Bengal had 17%, Madras 15%, Bihar and Orissa 14%, the Punjab 10%, C. P. and Berar 8%, Bombay and Sind 7%, and the remaining provinces 9%. The ovine class comprises sheep and goats, of which Madras accounted for 36% of the total number, the Punjab 15%, U. P. 13%, Bengal 10%, Bombay and Sind 10%, and Bihar and Orissa 9%.

Land Revenue.—The actual realisable demand on account of land revenue, excluding cesses, for the whole of British India amounts to 36 crores of Rupees. Its incidence per head of population varies from province to province. It is 11 annas in Bengal, Re. 1-10-0 in Madras, Rs. 2-3-0 in Bombay, Re. 1-7-0 in the U.P., Rs. 2-14-0 in Sind, Rs. 2-9-0 in the Punjab, Rs. 4-1-0 in Upper, and Rs. 5-6-0 in Lower Burma, and Rs. 2-15-0 in Berar.

State Expenditure on Agriculture.—In 1920-21, the headquarters of the Imperial Department of Agriculture at Pusa were maintained at a cost of slightly more than £65,000; while the total expenditure of all the provincial departments amounted to £594,000. This works out at a total charge on the country of about one half-penny per acre per annum.[1] Compare this with the figures for some other countries:

Country.	State expenditure on agriculture		
	Per 1,000 of population.	Per 1,000 acres of	
		total and	Cultivated area.
U. S. A., 1919-20 ...	£68	£4	£14
Germany, 1910 ...	£63	£31	£47
U. K., 1921 ...	£64	£65	£92

(*Vide* Sir Henry Rew: "Agriculture and the State." The Edinburgh Review, April, 1922.)

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[1] P. 153, Moral and Material Progress and Condition of India, H. of C. 171 of 192.

II.—*Irrigation.*

Till the close of the triennium 1918-1921, irrigation works were divided into major and minor works. The major were subdivided into productive public works and protective public works, and the former class was financed by borrowed capital, and the latter, designed as a protection against famine, from the current revenues. This system of classification and financing has now been altered, and all irrigation works will in future be classed either as productive or unproductive, and it will be possible to finance any work of public utility from loan funds. The seventy Productive Irrigation and Navigation canals working at the end of 1920-21 had a total mileage of 46,745 miles, of which the main canals and branches took up 12,183 miles, and the distributaries 34,562 miles. Of these the total mileage in the Punjab was 14,888; in Madras, 12,190; in the United Provinces, 9,790; and in Sind, 2,949. The total area irrigated by this class of works was 17,573,821 acres. Of the fifty-five protective works in operation by the beginning of 1921-22,[1] the lion's share was taken by the Central Provinces, with 68 miles of main canals and branches and 1,045 miles of distributaries, and by the United Provinces, with 429 and 1,234 miles respectively of main lines and distributaries. The area irrigated by protective works was 745,346 acres. The minor works comprise a few small works constructed by the British Government, and a large number of indigenous works which the Government has taken over, improved, and maintained. Complete capital and revenue accounts have not been kept for this class of works; but in the aggregate, they represent a fairly large group, including some 47,000 minor tanks and petty irrigation works in Madras.

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[1] Consisting of 1,005 miles of main canals and branches, and 2,899 miles of distribu-

Of the 172 works for which capital and revenue accounts are kept, the main lines and distributaries came to 3,313 and 1,501 miles respectively, and the area irrigated to 1,728,579 acres.

The capital outlay, direct and indirect, to the end of 1920-21, was Rs. 589,041,815 on productive major works, Rs. 117,280,422 on protective major works, and Rs. 70,280,767 on minor irrigation works for which capital and revenue accounts are kept. In 1920-21, the net profit on productive works was Rs. 33,802,330 and the percentage of working exepenses to gross receipts, 34·82. The protective works showed a net loss of Rs. 2,891,979, and their operating ratio was 61·74. "The Triennial Review of Irrigation in India for the period 1918-1921" gives some interesting details about the development of irrigation from 1900-01 onwards. The total capital invested in the works rose from Rs. 4,236 lakhs in 1900-01 to Rs. 7,861 lakhs in 1920-21, showing an average increase of Rs. 180 lakhs a year. As regards revenue, the Government irrigation works of India, taken as a whole, yield a return of from 7 to 8 per cent. on the capital invested in them; this is a satisfactory result, as Rs. 1,173 lakhs of the total have been spent on protective works which return less than 1 per cent. and Rs. 703 lakhs on minor works, the yield from which varies between 4 and 6 per cent. The capital outlay also includes expenditure on a number of large works under construction, which have not yet commenced to earn revenue. It follows that, besides increasing the yield of the crops, making agriculture possible in tracts where, without an assured supply of water, nothing would grow, and protecting large areas from famine and scarcity, the irrigation works of India form also a remunerative investment for the funds sunk in them.[1]

Some of the oldest canals continue to be the most profitable. The Eastern Jumna canal[2] completed in 1830 at a capital outlay of Rs. 531 lakhs, and irrigating 395,967 acres, paid 318% on its capital outlay in 1920-21; the Godavery Delta system [1] completed in 1846-47, at a capital outlay of Rs. 156 lakhs, and irrigating 825,254 acres, paid 24·9%; the Kistna Delta system,[2] completed in 1855-56 at a capital cost of Rs. 167 lakhs, and irrigating 665,520 acres, paid 17·7% : the Cauvery Delta system [3] irrigating 218,682 acres, paid 17·6%; the Upper Ganges, Sirhind, and Western Jumna canals all paid between 11 and 12 %; but the highest return was from the Lower Chenab canal,[4] completed in 1899-1900 at a capital cost of Rs. 331 lakhs, and irrigating 2,395,976 acres, which paid 44·7%. "There are great differences in the financial success of the irrigation works in the various provinces. These are due to physical conditions, such as surface soil, climate, and the absence or presence of large rivers with a permanent supply of water, as well as to differences in the character and habits of the people. There are also considerable differences in the manner in which the irrigation revenue is assessed and collected, which have an important bearing on the financial success of the works." [5] The average water rate per acre is Rs. 5 in the Punjab and British Baluchistan, Rs. 4 in Madras, the United Provinces, Burma, Ajmere-Merwara, and the North-West Frontier Province, Rs. 3 in Bombay, and Bihar and Orissa, Rs. 2 in Bengal, and Re. 1 in the Central Provinces. The rates charged also vary considerably with the crops grown.. How light these charges are may be easily inferred from the fact that the estimated value of the crops grown on Government-irrigated land in 1920-21 amounted to double the total capital expenditure on the works.

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[1] Page 11, above Report.

[2] Main lines, 129 miles; distributaries, 795 miles.

The area irrigated in 1920-21 by the works for which capital accounts are kept was 20,147,746 acres, but the total area irrigated by all Government irrigation works was approximately 27 million acres, which is 13·7% of the entire cropped area of 197·5 million acres. From 10·5 million acres in 1878-79, the area irrigated by the Government works rose to 19·25 million acres at the beginning of the century, and to 28 million acres in 1919-20 the record figure up to date, from which it fell by a million in 1920-21. The main increase has been in the class of productive works which irrigated 10·5 million acres in 1900-01, and 17·6 millions in 1920-21. The area irrigated by productive works was greatest in the Punjab, the average in this province during the triennium 1915-18 being 7·75 millions, and in 1920-21 over 9·5 millions. The United Provinces come next with about 3 million acres, followed by Madras with over 2 millions, and Sind with over a million.

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[1] 511 m. and 1,994 m.

[2] 349 m. and 2,186 m.

[3] 1,507 m. and 1,971 m.

[4] 427 m. and 2,242 m.

[5] Moral and Material Progress Report, 1915-16.

In years of scanty rainfall, the area irrigated by Government works is enormously increased ; but in years of almost complete drought, the supply of water in the rivers has been known to fall short of the great demands on it, owing to failure of rains on the mountains.

The Government works are not the only irrigation works in the country. In a normal year, only about 11% of the total cropped area is irrigated from Government works; about 5% is irrigated from wells, of which there are at least three millions in India; and about 6% from other sources, such as private canals, tanks, water raised directly from rivers and drainages, etc. In point of view of the area irrigated, therefore, the Government and private works are of about equal importance.

By far the largest irrigation work executed in India up to date is the Triple Canals Project in the Punjab, which was completed on the 31st March, 1917, the main object of which is the irrigation of the tract lying between the Ravi and the Sutlej rivers. By means of this project, the surplus waters of the Jhelum are transferred into the Lower Bari Doab. The three canals which give the scheme its name are the Upper Chenab canal, Lower Bari Doab canal, and the Upper Jhelum canal, the main lines and branches of which are 433 miles long, and the distributaries, 3,006 miles long. The area irrigated by the scheme is about 1·8 million acres. The construction of the Upper Jhelum canal presented engineering difficulties of a unique character, which have been successfully surmounted, while an idea of its magnitude may be formed from the fact that the quantity of earthwork executed amounted to over 1,300 million cubic feet, and that 33·5 million cubic feet of masonry and concrete were put into the works. The Upper Chenab canal is the largest perennial irrigation canal in the world. The Triple Canals Scheme has brought a huge extent of waste land under cultivation. Of the area commanded,[1] 1,570,000 acres were classed as crown waste; and of this area, 1,490,000 acres were available for allotment. Colonisation has been going steadily forward, and up to the end of September, 1920, 880,000 acres had already been allotted. The total cost of the project is now estimated at Rs. 1,058 lakhs, including the cost of certain improvements still to be carried out, and an eventual return of nearly 8% on capital is anticipated. The value of the crops raised on land irrigated by the system in 1919-20 was estimated at no less than Rs. 933 lakhs, the bulk of which is a new accretion to the Province, and nearly 2,500 square miles of waste land is for the first time now being brought under the plough.

Of the great irrigation projects now in hand, the following are the most important. The Sarda canal comprises a comprehensive project for the irrigation of the north-western districts of Oudh, while the Sarda Bichha Feeder will supply water to the Rohilkhand area. The total cost of these projects will be Rs. 951 lakhs, the area to be irrigated annually about 1,713,000 acres, and the net return anticipated over 7%. The Sukkur Barrage and Canals project is designed to extend the irrigation now effected by the inundation canals in Sind by the construction of a barrage across the Indus, nearly a mile long between the abutments, from above which seven canals will branch off, irrigating over 6 million acres at a capital cost of about Rs. 1,835 lakhs. The Sutlej Valley canals project is an off-shoot of the Triple Canals Scheme, one object of which was to conserve the Sutlej waters for future use. Sanction to commence the work was given by the Secretary of State for India in December, 1921. The project really consists of four interconnected systems, each of the first magnitude: four weirs are to be constructed, three on the Sutlej and one on the Panjnad, with twelve canals taking off from above them. Each weir will control about one and a quarter million acres of irrigation the total irrigation from all the weirs being nearly three times that contemplated under the Triple Canals Project. The total area to be irrigated is nearly 8,000 square miles, or over 5 million acres. Of this over two million acres will be perennial, and over three million non-perennial irrigation; 1,942,000 acres will be in British territory; 2,825,000 acres in Bahawalpur; and 341,000 acres in Bikaner. The total cost is estimated at Rs. 1,460 lakhs, upon which a return of 12·75% is expected. There are also several other projects either in hand or contemplated, which, when completed, are estimated to raise the Government-irrigated area to 40 million acres.

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[1] 6,250 sq. miles.

(*Concluded*)

P. P. PILLAI

INDIA

Hail, sun-born land, begot of sacrifice!
God give me eloquence to hymn thy praise,
And more than praise, my selfless love for thee.
No worn-out theme or tongue-twisted device,
No rusty dogg'rel poet-pens entice
Is meet, in monuments of song,
The echo of my heart to raise.

Thou art th' embodied spirit of a woman,
The fount of living, loving motherhood.
The sons that thou hast nursed upon thy bosom
Are one with me in bracelet brotherhood.
Thou cam'st to me in time of darkest sorrow.
Thy hand was laid upon my fevered brow.
And I, who dreamt not of a new To-morrow,
Became rejuvenate in worlds of Now.
Thy childrens' clay thou hast so aptly moulded
Into brave shapes of reverential youth.
Gracious Tanagra figurines enfolded
Within thy cloak of spiritual truth.
Some, with a wild bee hunger, sip thy sweetness,
Craving the beauty of thine outward form;
Losing in carnal thought the rare completeness,
That springs from throbbing pain and inward storm.
For thou art holy with a depth of feeling;
And wise with knowledge, sacred and half-veiled.

Thy gem-encrusted lore is not for stealing
By those, whose life philosophy has failed
To teach that failure oft is an achievement,
A dried-up well that holds a hidden spring.
To show that dust and ashes of bereavement
In time a ray of healing hope will bring.

Hail, mighty mother! In my hour of need
God sent thee to me, lotus-eyed and mild.
Shall I then fail in gratitude to Him?
Nay, rather let my heart for ever bleed,
Mine eyes with unshed tears be dim indeed.
Oh! India, my foster-love,
Count me thy loyal, Western child!

GWENDOLINE GOODWIN

THE PANTHEISTIC ASPECT OF CHRISTIANITY

Thus I have shown that many eminent divines of Christian church and writers, from the earliest times, have believed in the oneness of God and the universe, and that their religious views are coloured with the conception of a present or future state of pantheism.

I now pass to analyse Christian ideas and experiences, as contained in the New Testament. According to St. Paul, God was in Christ "reconciling the world unto himself." The worlds were made by Christ, "The express image of the Invisible God." Preaching to the Athenians the apostle declares that men are "the offsprings of God." And as the Greeks, like the Brahmans, believed in one God and many, he, taking advantage of this fact, advised them to accept Christ, in whom their quest for the true object of their worship would be satisfied. He tells the Corinthians that when the believer will be perfected he will merge in Christ. In another place he assures them that there will come a time when man will recognise his true Divinity in God. His averment in the epistle to the Romans, that "the earnest expectation of the creation waiteth for the revealing of the sons of God," is an expression of his pantheistic feeling. In addressing the Corinthians he foresees a time when "God will be all in all." (I Cor. XV 28). He maintains in his letter to the Colossians that 'Christ is all and in all,' and in his letter to the Ephesians he says that Christ "filleth all things." In his letter to the Phillipians he also says that Christ was in "the form of God," even he that was the Word of God. These and other passages in his writings clearly suggest that his thoughts were undoubtedly tinged by ideas of pantheism.

St. Peter says that through the power of Christ the believer has been granted the privilege of becoming a partaker of the nature of God.

In St. John's Gospel, Christ is represented as the Divine Logos, who came, in due time, into the world as "The Word made flesh," and who sharing his life with God, made all things. St. John's theology that Logos was God, and that this Logos was incarnate in Christ, who was in all things, made Christ and man equally Divine. Also his saying confidently, "Now we are the sons of God and it doth not yet appear what we shall be," plainly smacks of a future pantheistic condition. So it appears that the apostle was convinced that there is a Divine element in human nature. In his apocalyptic writings, where his vision seems to have developed further, he envisages God as man and man as God. This resembles the asseveration of Brahmanic scripture as to man's identity with God, and that ignorance or illusion has hindered the realisation of his true self.

The Word of God or Principle, which was ever with God, is the consciousness or "the true Light which lighteneth every man that cometh into the world." This Word expressed itself in human form in Christ. According to Christianity the believers of this truth will be partakers of Divinity, or in other words, in the consciousness of the Divine in man his place in Divinity would be reached.

This deep truth about the oneness of Divinity and humanity was also revealed in the teaching of the Adorable Founder of Christianity. Pantheism is founded upon it, and it exhorts all men to live the life of Christ—the Word, the Principle of God, for to be transformed into Divine life. Pantheism believes in one life, diffused through all existences, and in the unity all are equally advantaged in time. Pantheism spans the relativity and the Reality, whereby the Divinity of Christ is confirmed in the intellect of man. In its light the transcendence and immanence of God, in the universe, may not be conceived as merely relative states of being, but as states of perfection and imperfection.

The fourth Gospel contains thoughts of striking similarity to those of the *Bhagavat Gita*, a fact that led the late Bishop Westcott to observe that he hoped some Indian Christian would write a new commentary on St. John's Gospel, with the help of the wonderful teaching of the Scripture.

Christ, perfectly aware of the truth of man's Divinity, once stated that he came out from the Father. This irritated some Jewish monotheists, who insisted on having a plain answer from him as to who he was. Christ answered them naively, without a moment's hesitation, "I and the Father are one." Mark the words, "the Father," for here Christ not only declared his identity with his Father, but also with the Father of the whole universe. The worshippers of Jehovah were still more perturbed at this presumptuous claim. But Christ went on to explain how groundless their anxiety was. "Is it not written in your Law," He tells them, "I said ye are gods? If he called them 'gods' to whom the word of God came, and the scripture cannot be broken, say ye of him whom the Father sanctified and sent into the world, 'Thou blasphemest' because I said "I am the son of God." (John X. 34-66). An *argumentum ad hominem*, which, though it succeeded in stopping their mouths, yet could not prevent them from an attempt to stone him.

It will be profitable to examine in detail the meaning of this text. The Greek word, '*Theos*' used in this place, obviously means God, as Christ was quoting from Psalm 82 in which the Hebrew word '*Elohim*,' for God, occurs. The same word is to be found in the Genesis I. 1. Some commentators maintain that by this word Christ meant to ascribe to man the character of judge. But it is obvious from the context that the characteristic he had in view was Divinity, as he was claiming for himself identity with the Deity, which the Jews were contesting at the time. It is thus only fair to conclude that by the words '*Theos*' found here in St. John's Gospel and '*Elohim*' in the Genesis and the Psalm, Christ intended to convey the idea of the Divinity of man, as otherwise it would be difficult to grasp the purpose for which he made use of these quotations, and why he utilised them to repudiate the charge of blasphemy which his adversaries had levelled against him. And unless the word '*Elohim*' is meant to expressly denote God, the use of the word by Christ would prove meaningless and his argument turn out to be destitute of reason.

The text "Ye are gods" reminds one of a similar text in the Buddhistic literature, "Ye shall become all Buddhas." The Buddhist *Mahayana* teaches that the *Dharma*-body dwells in all beings, and the Buddhas come to make it known to them, that they may strive to realise it in themselves. Justin Martyr, like many early Fathers, struck by a similar thought about man, held that the germinal Logos was in every man, and in consequence of this habitation, to every convert could rightly be appropriated the appellation of "god." In fact, he actually addressed them, "Ye are gods." The idea that man is god, not in the sense of judge, occurs again and again in the patristic writings. Bishop Perowne, commenting upon this same text, is credited to have observed that Christ was reminding the world of its nearness to God, and of its intimate relationship to the Divinity. So it is obvious, though many may not have noticed and appreciated the fact, that there is an under current of pantheistic thought running throughout Christian literature.

The identity of the Divine and the human was more clearly and convincingly disclosed by Christ, on a subsequent occasion, when Caiphas, the Jewish high priest, held an entrapping inquisition regarding the truth about his own self, in the last hours of his earthly life. Caiphas asked him solemnly, saying, "I adjure thee by the Living God that thou tell us whether thou be the Christ, the Son of God?" To him Christ replied calmly, "Thou hast said—Nevertheless I say unto you, hereafter shall ye see the Son of Man sitting on the right hand of Power." (Mat. XXVI, 64-65).

This luminous answer of Christ, to him who is disposed to accept the truth unprejudicially, unravels the greatest of all mysteries, namely, that man shall be permitted to behold the identity of God and man; and in the vision of St. Stephen, the first Christian Martyr, this portentous assurance of Christ was realised. (Act. VII, 55). Christ, who had the profoundest knowledge of ontological truth and came to preach it, noticed that there was a wide gulf which separated the official Jewish doctrine from the ancient wisdom of the Initiates and desired that man should know his true relationship to God.

The supreme teaching of Christ, who came to this planet as the true Emancipator of mankind, was that God was not to be sought in the distant heavens, but to be met in the inner conscience of man. Discovering a higher ego within him, which constitutes the Real Self of the universe, stretching infinitely beyond the bounds of sense-perception, and assimilating it with his own, radiant with joy, he declared his unique experience to the people around him, saying, "Realise within you the Divine and you in it." His feeling of mystical unity with God was a unique experience of his personality, and in his life it found expression in diverse words, which were necessarily mysterious, and which even his own disciples could not always understand, (Mat. XV-16 and Mark. VII-18) much less the Pharisees, whose line of thought was very different from his own, and which prompted them to rise in open antagonism against him. So it is no wonder that, now, after two thousand years, many are unable to apprehend the true signification of many of his teachings. Dr. Dods in his book, "Christ and Man," rightly says, "Possibly some of the very points, which perplex the modern mind and caused discord during the entire history of the world, might have been made perfectly simple, if his first disciples were readier scholars."

From the second century onwards the theologians of the Church, owing to the decadence of spirituality, failing to grasp the real significations of Christ's sayings, bearing on his deep esoteric knowledge, penetrating into the very depth of the spiritual truth, have been content to take them only in their literal sense, but to those who are studied in the ancient esoteric teachings of India, Egypt and Greece they contain revelations of the profoundest spiritual truth conveying the identical signification.

The teaching of Christ, that the Divine is within man, made Divinity to the Jews, for the first time, their common property, although, we find, it had existed before in the spiritual life of India, Egypt and Greece. Max Müller says, "This discovery was an epoch in the history of mankind, and the name of the discoverer has not been forgotten. It was Sandilya who discovered that the self within was Brahma."

What Christ believed, was believed also by the ancient Seers or *Rishis* before him. Edouard Schure, author of "Les Grandes Inities," says: "The doctrine of the Divine Word was taught by Krishna in India, by the priests of Osiris in Egypt, by Orpheus and Pythagoras in Greece, and known to the prophets under the name of Mysteries of the Son of Man and the Son of God. According to this doctrine the highest manifestation of God is man, who in constitution, form, organs and intelligence is the image of the Universal Being, whose faculties he possesses. In the earthly evolution of humanity, however, God is scattered, split up and mutilated, so to speak, in the multiplicity of men and of human imperfections." So, on this point there is agreement in the nucleus of all ancient religions.

There is a remarkable passage in St. Matthew's Gospel in which Christ asks his disciples to be perfect as the Heavenly Father is perfect. What perfection did our Divine Master have in mind in this commandment? Christ's perceiving that the inner self of man is the same as the Eternal Cosmic

Spirit of the universe, his teaching, regarding the importance of man's duty of self-realisation and of the use of his inherent potentiality for attaining to his Real self, expressed in above terms, can only be explained to our understanding. It is clear that if he had not apprehended the commonness of the substance of God and man, and the latter's immanent identity with Divinity, he would not have demanded of man the attainment of God's perfection. Another striking passage in the same Gospel in connection with the utterance of Christ on the Last Judgment gives the idea of the complete identification of God with man. When the Supreme Judge, in rewarding the righteous, blesses them for having given him meat when hungry and drink when thirsty, and the men answer him, saying, "Lord when saw we thee hungry and fed thee, or thirsty and gave thee drink ?" the Lord answers the astonished saints by declaring, "Verily I say unto you, in as much as ye have done it unto one of the least of my brethren, ye have done it unto me." (Mat. XXV, 31-46). Is it fair to think that Christ in this parable identified man with God without having sufficient reason for doing so? The same thought reappears in St. John's epistle, where man's love for his fellow-man is held to be equivalent to his love for God, man being intimately connected with God. If man, the visible manifestation of God, cannot be the object of his love, there can hardly be any genuine love for God himself. In loving mankind we love God, and in loving God we love our neighbours. The two are unseparated, and even inseparable.

In Christ's thought not only man but the whole creation seems to participate in a mysterious unity with God. His saying, elsewhere, "Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing ? —and not one of them shall fall on the ground without the Father," (Mat. X, 20) seems to suggest that God is intimately connected with and even living, one might say, in a small sparrow, one of the least of created beings, or that the universe, owing to a certain commonness in them, is a system of relations, more close than we can perceive, where all are knit together by one Law of Life, for weal or woe, perfection or low state, from which even its Maker is not excluded, and where individual happiness or perfection is impossible. As, in the universe, through man the nature of other beings is helped to perfection, so through them the nature of man is helped to perfection.

Next let me consider the momentous prayer of Christ on the last night of his Divine ministry on earth,—"That they also may be *one* in us." In this prayer, I find, that his thought and desire were in exact tune with the thought and passion which had dominated him, throughout his earthly life. The words of Chirst are plain enough, and they do not justify the conclusion that he prayed that God and man may be merely united by a bond of fellowship, but that they may be assimilated in their being. As he was of the East, it was but natural that his thought and desire would be like those of a sage of the East. So it may be concluded that on the authority of Christ himself, man is assured of his Divinity despite what the western theologians, after him, have said on the contrary.

It has been said that Christian monotheism only superficially fulfils the conditions of a strict definition of monotheism. The existence of three persons in the Godhead seems to contradict the requirements of a monotheistic system. If, however, the three persons be considered as mere *hypostases* of God, who is Infinite, and regarded as the expressions of his nature, is it not just and reasonable to suppose, as some eminent schoolmen did and modern scholars do suppose, that God's modes of expression are also infinite? Even the monotheism of the Jewish religion does not give the idea of Jehovah as a mere unity, but as a spiritual being which has manifested itself in diverse ways.

Howbeit, it is noticed that wherever the various forces of nature are worshipped as deities, the feeling that these separate forces are not the whole force or the whole Divinity is afterwards entertained, and it is naturally suggested in the mind of the worshipper leading him to imagine that all have sprung from a common cause, and that they are not essentially separate or independent of one another. The mind of man is unable to apprehend the unity of God until it recognises the unity of nature, but when it recognises the latter, as a whole, his conception of the former becomes necessarily pantheistic. William James says, "Theism whenever it has erected itself into a systematic philosophy of the universe, has shown a reluctance to let God be anything less than All-in-all. In other words philosophic theism has always shown a tendency to become pantheistic and monistic and to consider the world as one unit of absolute facts."

If the feeling of the commonness of substance between God and man is inherent in man, it could not but have been implanted there by God himself. Moreover, if man is destined to eternal life, this can only be enjoyed by the consciousness of his co-existence with God, or by a due realisation that man is a part of the Eternal Being, and not a separate ephemeral thing. The consciousness of man's relation to God being an instinct—a Divine element in him—it is found that where this feeling is not adequately realised, he has gone to worship the various powers or beauties of nature. So the idea of the humanity in the Divinity has exercised a wholesome influence on the religious feeling of men in all ages and climes.

In Christian scripture Christ is called "the Son of God." To understand the true meaning of an expression it is necessary to know what was its meaning in the time of its use. I find the term "Son of God" in the Bible did not connote a Divine relationship, specially distinguished from other men, but that it had a sectarian meaning. When St. Paul called Christ to be the "Son of God," he meant that Christ was led by the Spirit of God, as he says, "As many as are led by the Spirit of God they are 'the Sons of God.'" (Rom. VIII. 14).

St. Peter embracing the same view thanks God saying, "Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ which according to his abundant mercy hath 'begotten' us again into a lively hope by the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead." (I Pet. 1-3). St. John says, "Behold what manner of love the Father hath bestowed upon us that we should be called the 'Sons of God'" (1 John 11-1). St. James says, "Of His own free will 'begat' he us with the word of truth." (James 1-18). So it appears that St. Paul, St. Peter, St. John and St. James were all, like Christ, "the Sons of God" in their time; and it was not then an uncommon thing for men to be "the Sons of God." Of course as a Son of God Christ was unique, because of his being exactly like God in the perfection of character: and so much so that the world beheld the Divine in him.

Likewise the Hebrew word "*Messiah*" or anointed, translated *Christos* in Greek, had a sectarian meaning in Judaic scripture. When St. Peter answered Christ, saying, "Thou art the Christ," in reply to his enquiry what his followers thought him to be, Peter meant that he was anointed or commissioned of Jehovah for some purpose of his, principally that of releasing Israel from the Gentile yoke. (Isaiah XIV. 1). In the Acts, St. Peter in no less than four places calls Christ a servant of God. It is also recorded that Christ declared himself in the synagogue at Nazareth, as anointed or commissioned of God to preach good tidings to the poor, or to them who were thought hopeless of salvation. Likewise it is recorded that Saul was thought by David to be Jehovah's anointed, and even Cyrus the Persian king was called to be Jehova's anointed, because of his favourable disposition towards the Jews. So the term "Anointed Lord", sometimes found in the Bible is a mistranslation of the Hebrew word "*Messiah*" or Anointed of the Lord. This is also shown in the Psalms of Solomon edited by Ryle and James.

It is not possible to be convinced of the special Divine Sonship or Messiahship of Christ without resorting to the miraculous (Mark I, 11), or the suspension of reason; and such a course is to justify to command our confidence also in many similar statements in other scriptures. Moreover, if the Divine declarations in the Gospels are to be depended upon, (Mark I-11) one finds that, in fairness, such a claim cannot be restricted to Christ only, as in the Old Testament, Jehovah calls also Israel his son and Solomon his chosen son (Ex. IV, 22 and Chron. XXVII, 6). Even if Christ's special sonship and messiahship are acknowledged, it may be observed that as he prayed for his followers' oneness with him and God they are also entitled to Divinity.

The testimony of Christ, in the Bible, that he had been from before Abraham and that he had other peoples, besides the Jews, to go to preach the message of God, corroborates the statement of Micah, his "goings forth have been, from of old, from everlasting." (Ch. V. 2). On this subject Krishna is very explicit in the *Bhagavat Gita*:

यदा यदा हि धर्म्मस्य ग्लानिर्भवति भारत ।
अभ्युत्थानमधर्म्मस्य तदात्मानं सृजाम्यहम् ॥

So, also, the Buddha in the *Lalita Vistara*:

करुण मम अनन्त सर्व्वं लोके परमनुचनर्थंनामहं प्रतीक्ष्य ।
पुनश्चनता प्रसन्न ब्रह्मतेन अधीस्य प्रव्वतयामि चक्रम् ॥

So it may be admitted that whenever, at certain epochs of the history of mankind, among a people, righteousness is perishing and unabashed iniquity stalks in the country, a man, especially endowed with Divine power, wisdom and goodness, is born to deliver them from the terrible gulf in which they are fallen and save righteousness from decease, and he is regarded as come down from God. Thus the son of men becomes the son of God.

So, it appears that, in the Bible, the terms "son of God" and "*Messiah*," were not uncommon appellations of men in those days. Howbeit, if they are to interpret Divinity for any one they are to do so for some others also. And so also, as God was in Christ and Christ was all-in-all, says the Bible, what has made Christ Divine that has also made man Divine. And so also if it be thought that quality and quantity are the same, in the essence of their nature, and are interrelated to each other, if God is Infinite, Omnipotent, Omnipresent and Omiscient, man in perfected state, is also the same, though not in intensity. (Gen. 1-26).

What we perceive by our senses is only a lower reality of our selves. We perceive our selves "as in a mirror darkly," but we do not perceive wholly what the reality of our selves is. Our real self lies deep down our sense-selves. But if our feelings are directed towards our higher self, with the help of our higher light, the reality of our selves would be wholly opened up, and we would be transfigured before us, as we really are. This would result from our transition from a lower to a higher knowledge of our being. The Divine within would be realised by the aspirant by withdrawal from all externality, deep meditation, renunciation and change from the life of the senses to that of the Spirit. But a mere conviction of the Infinite and the Eternal, not perceived within us, would be quite infructuous, as we may as well speak of something non-existent and of whose living presence we have no actual experience. Just as the righteous knows what righteousness is, and the drunkard what intoxication is, so we have to feel infinite and eternal within ourselves, before we can speak of God as an Infinite and Eternal Being. An explanation of God in terms of the unknowable is a flat conglomeration of words.

According to Christian scripture the Logos had ever been in every man, born in the world from before it appeared perfected in Jesus (John I. 14.). Formerly it had been living in men, in different degrees of perfection, as says the prophet. And it had not come to Jesus, for the first time and in one day, in his life. If personality is the metamorphosis of the spirit, it had been developing from, one to another, from everlasting. In corroboration of this mystery Christ says, "In my Father's house are many mansions." (John XIV. 2). So Christ may be regarded as stretching forth his arms, in love, towards his brothers—the messiahs who had preceded him—who have been engaged with him, in the regeneration of humanity, by transforming it in their likeness or Divinity.

The identification of Divinity and humanity has ever been an invariable experience of them who have sought a higher spiritual life, as it has been with the Mystics. Christ revealed this mystery only to a few who could grasp it and work it out in themselves. The writer of the fourth Gospel was inspired with the idea of Philo, who was saturated with that of Plato, about the Logos, who maintained it was engendered in human souls, as taught in the Mysteries. According to Plato God spreads his Logos over the world in the form of a cross. However, the introduction of the Logos-idea from Hellenic philosophy, in connection with the person of Christ, by giving a pantheistic background to Christianity has elevated it to a metaphysical religion, satisfying the highest intellectual longing of mankind.

The Divine element latent in man is not perceived by the natural man: the spiritual forces lie, as if spell-bound, within him, waiting to be released, as the perfume in a bud, but he does not feel it. Man's Divinity will not be revealed within him until he reveals it himself, by means of self-knowledge and the use of the spiritual powers he is endowed with. The Highest can only be found in what is really perfect and abiding, and not while in the course of development and decay of being. There is no birth into the Divine, but development into it: Divinity reveals itself in development. It is stated in the "Higher Law," "The Divine presence is known through experience. The turning to a higher plane is a distinct act of consciousness. It is not a vague twilight or semi-conscious experience. It is a perfectly calm, sane, sound, rational commonsense shifting of consciousness from the phenomena of sense-perception to the phenomena of seership, from the thought of self to its distinctly higher realm."

In the conception of the universe as the projection of God, in a visible form, where his essential nature is disclosed, man can imagine what his own nature may be, and in his aspiring for it lies his release from the powers of evil and his attainment of the Truth, "For he that seeketh findeth." In man's sense of unity with God lies also that of his degradation and his subsequent elevation; in the whisper of his humiliation within contains the strength of his conscious uprising to Divinity, and from the conviction of his unity with it begins to flow mutual affection and happiness. The pantheistic belief calls out universal interest, it reveals the mind to the suffering of others, the sight of their suffering evokes compassionate feeling, compassionate feeling engenders kind treatment to all. Thus pantheism is regarded to foster the highest religious objective of man, which can insure his true elevation and abiding happiness.

G. C. GHOSH

(*To be continued.*)

"RANULÆ"[1]

What a wave of harmony,
All the frogs aglee,
Chanting forth a hymn of praise
In tuneful harmony.

What a concert glorious,
What a happy song,
From the merry chorus
Fifty thousand strong.

Hear the diapason
Of the bass profound.
Hear the merry symphony
Of that wealth of sound.

Not a note in discord,
Every throat in tune,
Singing all in concert
Some grand primeval rune.

Of Earth's profoundest secrets.
Of old Creation's plan.
Ere yet the new-born world
Had found a home for man.

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[1] In the dry, arid plains of Bengal, just before the monsoons, the frogs for a period go into a condition of torpor called, "estivation." A shower of rain awakens them to life and song.—*A. S.*

Oh for the gift to read the thought
That underlies your song,
To learn our own past history
In times forever gone—

Though naught avails the idle hope
We may, as life still jogs,
Maintain within our humble scope
The right to praise our frogs.

AUGUSTUS SOMERVILLE

THE KAUTILIYA ARTHASASTRA

(*A Reply*)

III

Difference as to mining and metallurgy how far real.

Prof. Winternitz on the strength of Dr. Otto Stein's statement points out (p. 20) that there is a difference between Megasthenes' account and the Arthaśāstra in regard to metals, mining and metallurgy. In fact the difference is but in appearance and not in reality, and is due to the fact that in the former we get but a broad outline lacking details, which are found in the latter. The details may seem to mark an advance in technical knowledge in comparison with that behind the mere outline, but actually it is not so. Had Megasthenes backed up his generalisations by an *account of the processes* involved in the manufacture "of articles of use and ornament, as well as the implements and accoutrements of war, and in the exploitation of the underground numerous veins of all sorts of metals, gold, silver, copper, and iron in no small quantity, and even tin and other metals," it would have looked similar to the chapters on the subjects in the Arthaśāstra. Prof. Winternitz looks upon (p. 20) the references in the Arthaśāstra to the use of mercury as a strong proof of the later origin of the work. Says he: "Kauṭilya mentions artificial gold made from other metals by chemical process in which mercury is used." So far as I see, Kauṭilya does not speak of the transmutation of the inferior metals into gold in the Arthaśāstra. He details a process, involving the use of mercury, for giving a particular colour to gold. Hence, this portion of his argument hinging on alchemy involving the use of mercury has no force until he points out the passage in the Arthaśāstra referring to same. I do not understand why in this connection he states that "Even P. C. Ray, in his excellent history of Indian Chemistry, who believes that alchemy is indigenous in India, cannot trace it back any further than the earliest Tantric text in the 5th or the 6th century A. D." I should however mention that he does trace it back to the 2nd century A. D. He says, "It is thus clear that all the testimonies concur in ascertaining Nāgārjuna not only as the originator of the Mādhyamika philosophy but also as an adept in magic, conjuration, and alchemy, and that even so early as the 2nd century A. D. The exact time during which he flourished is a matter of controversy. He is generally regarded as a contemporary of Kaniṣka.

One cannot go far wrong in assigning circa 150 A. D., as the date of his succeeding to the Patriarchate "[1] In another connection, he writes "the progress of magic, witchcraft and alchemy can be traced from the Atharvaveda onwards to the later Tantras according to the laws of evolution without any breach of continuity." [2] Prof. Winternitz further remarks that "in medical works, mercury is mentioned only once in Caraka's treatise, once in the Bower MS. (4th cent. A.D.) and twice in the Suśruta. It is entirely unknown in earlier literature." This is adduced by him as one of the reasons why the Arthaśāstra should be looked upon as a composition of about that time. Three points should however be considered before we take this conclusion as final: (*i*) There is nothing to show that the medical use of mercury could not be earlier. The line that has been drawn at the 4th century A. D. should always be regarded as a provisional one and not as the boundary line, beyond which the knowledge of the use of mercury cannot date back. In my opinion, the right course to adopt in the midst of pieces of evidence like the above would be to keep an open mind for the reception of earlier evidences, should they be available. The criterion of age in this respect being incomplete, it would be better not to draw from it a result which it cannot yield. (*ii*) Caraka was the official physician of Kaniṣka and should therefore be placed in the 2nd century A. D. It is also known that the extant *Caraka-saṃhitā* is a reduction by Dṛiḍhabala of the original Carakasaṃhitā which was again a redaction of the original work of Agniveśa, the disciple of Ātreya Punarvasu. Hence, there is no reason why the medical use of mercury should not be traced back to at least the 2nd century A. D., instead of the 4th century A. D. It should, however, be pointed out that the use of mercury in the preparation of medicines and its use in metallurgy cannot be said to have come into vogue at about the same time. The metallurgic use of mercury is likely to be earlier. So far as the Arthaśāstra is concerned, the date of the medical use of mercury can have no bearing on the date of its composition, so long as it is not shown that Kauṭilya refers to the use of mercury in the preparation of medicines. What Kauṭilya mentions, so far as I see, is only the metallurgical use of mercury and not its medical use. (*iii*) In view of the fact that the criterion by which to judge the age of the Arthaśāstra on the strength of its references to the use of mercury is incomplete, and considering also the fact that it is not impossible for the use of mercury being earlier, depending as it does upon the chance discoveries of metallurgical treatises named and quoted from in the mediæval works on metallurgy and *rasāyana* (*e.g.*, the Lohaśāstra of Patañjali), it will be proper to fix the date of the Arthaśāstra by other internal and external evidences and fix the time of the use of mercury as mentioned in the work by its age so determined.

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[1] Hist. of Hindu Chemistry, Vol. II, pp. xx, xxi.

[2] *Ibid*, pp. lxxxv, lxxxvi.

Re the instance of a rich literature on technical arts, indication of later origin of the Arthaśāstra.

From the nature of the contents of the Arthaśāstra, Prof. Winternitz infers it as probable that there were special treatises on the various subjects dealt with in the work, *viz.*, agriculture, mining, mineralogy, chemistry, architecture, military matters, etc., and as it was impossible that one man should have been specialist in all these branches of knowledge, he must have utilized these special treatises. Moreover, Prof. Winternitz thinks that the utilization of these treatises by Kauṭilya in his work is more probable than Prof. Jacobi's suggestion that the minister used the technical knowledge possessed by the officials of the various departments of Government. The reasons relied on by him for inclining to his own view as more probable lie in (1) the opening passage of the Arthaśāstra, namely,

'पृथिव्या लाभेपालने च यावन्त्यर्थशास्त्राणि पूर्व्वाचार्य्यैः प्रस्थापितानि प्रायशस्तानि संहृत्यैकमिदमर्थशास्त्रं कृतम् ।'

The word 'Saṃhṛtya' in the sentence has been translated by Prof. Winternitz into 'extracting and summarizing.' On the basis of this interpretation rests his conclusion that special treatises were incorporated in the Arthaśāstra; (2) the fact that sometimes the same subject has been treated by Kauṭilya in different chapters. In regard to the first reason, I want to point out, that the aforesaid rendering of the word 'saṃhṛtya' strains too much its meaning. It means nothing more than collecting (for use).[1] In regard to the second reason, I fail to understand why the treatment of the same subject in different chapters would signify the incorporation of special treatises in the Arthaśāstra. The same subject may be treated in different connexions in different chapters without any implication at all of the existence of special treatises on the subjects. Even granting for argument's sake that special treatises were used in the Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra, does this admission preclude the probability of Prof. Jacobi's suggestion being true at the same time? While composing the treatise, Kauṭilya may have utilized as well the advice of Government experts under him in regard to the special fields of art or science. It was not also impossible in those days, when the special fields of learning or art were not so wide as they are at present, for men of special capacity to have acquaintance with several of them simultaneously. Hence, it need not be a matter for surprise if Kauṭilya be taken to have written about at least some of the special branches of art treated in the Arthaśāstra from his own knowledge of them, supplemented when needed by expert advice. Prof. Winternitz, on the strength of his interpretation of the word saṃbhṛtya in the passage quoted already, and the repetition of the same subject in different chapters, draws the inference that at the time of the composition of the Arthaśāstra there existed a rich literature on economics and all kinds of technical arts. There even existed works on the diseases of trees (gulmavṛkṣāyurveda). According to him, it is not very probable that such a highly developed technical literature existed in or before the 4th century B.C. Hence, the Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra must be later. As I have just now pointed out, the aforesaid two grounds for such an inference are not at all sound. Moreover, the evidences before us may warrant the inference that the technical knowledge indicated by them was of an advanced character considering the early period of its development, but they do not support the inference, either affirmative or negative, regarding the existence of a rich literature on economics and all kinds of technical arts. The conclusion may be very tempting but the evidences before us do not enable us to speak with certainty whether the treatises on the subjects just mentioned were two, ten or more, or none at all, because a great part of the technical knowledge might have been in a floating state simply handed down from the experts to their pupils, not being garnered in any treatise at all. Except the subject of daṇḍanīti (polity), the materials on the technical subjects found in the Arthaśāstra, if taken separately, would not be sufficient to cover even twenty pages in print. Take, for instance, mining or metallurgy, upon which Kauṭilya has written at some length. The treatment of these subjects covers much less than twenty pages and does not mention any special treatises. I do not deny that the advance made at the early period in the knowledge of the technical subjects was satisfactory. What I contend for is that the evidences in the Kauṭilīya do not support the inference drawn by Prof. Winternitz that they indicate the existence of a rich literature on the technical arts, proving thereby the later origin of the Arthaśāstra. When the evidences do not warrant any inference either way, we ought to be silent instead of expressing a view which has no sound grounds to support it.

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[1] *Cf.* the use of this root with the prefix in the title of Ch. 2, Book V, of the Arthaśāstra, *viz.*, Koṣābhisaṃharaṇaṃ).

Re Prof. Winternitz's theory that Arthaśāstras had their origin in the schools of the Dharmaśāstras.

Prof. Winternitz propounds the theory that the Arthaśāstra was originally taught in the schools of Dharmaśāstra, among the 'duties of the king,' but at some time, it branched off from the Dharmaśāstra and was taught in separate schools of Arthaśāstra, the reason being that the same teachers appear in the *Mahābhārata* and elsewhere as authors of both Dharmaśāstras and Arthaśāstras. The branching off of the Arthaśāstra from the Dharmaśāstra has been taken as indicating the later origin of the Arthaśāstra, for the Dharmaśāstras presuppose a period of Dharmasūtras written in the sūtra style. But Prof. Winternitz ignores that the Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra itself refers to the existence of vārttā (economics) and daṇḍa-nīti (polity) as separate branches of learning which developed very likely in separate schools, and the Arthaśāstra and the Dharmaśāstra utilized the results of the study of these two branches of learning in those schools. There are evidences in the Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra showing that treatises on polity made use of the sūtra-style. This together with the existence of separate works on polity in the sūtra-style, *e.g.*, the Cāṇakyasūtra and the Bṛhaspati-sūtra make it very probable that there was a sūtra-period in the development of treatises on polity just as there was a sūtra period in the development of the law-codes like Manu. It is not therefore likely at all that Arthaśāstras should branch off from the Dharmaśāstras. It was in the treatises on daṇḍanīti and vārttā that full treatments could be made of the subjects of polity and economics. The Dharmaśāstras devote only a very small space to the treatment of those subjects, because a full treatment of the two subjects was not the province of a code of law. It would therefore be proper to hold the view that the Arthaśāstras and the Dharmaśāstras developed on parallel lines, and just as the Dharmaśāstras had a sūtra-period, so also the branches of learning, vārttā and daṇḍanīti, utilized by the Arthaśāstras, passed through a similar sūtra-period and could well have been contemporaneous with the works of the corresponding stages of development of the Dharmaśāstras.

Re the statement that Arthaśāstra had nothing to do with religious matters.

Prof. Winternitz observes that the very term Arthaśāstra shows that it has nothing to do with religious matters. Here he ignores the close connection that Daṇḍanīti (polity) forming a part and parcel of the Arthaśāstra has with the ideal of the state, which consists in this that the state under the direction of the sovereign should lead the people under its protection to the final goal of human existence, *viz.*, fulfilment of dharma, and emancipation, furnishing at the same time means therefor. Space does not permit me to deal at length with the ways in which the religious beliefs and ceremonies inter-penetrated the whole system of ancient Hindu polity, and for the matter of that, the Arthaśāstra of which it forms the subject-matter. Prof. Winternitz himself has dwelt on (pp. 24, 25) the Brāhmanical religiosity of Kauṭilya as also the Brāhmanical veneer of the social and political system, of which Kauṭilya speaks. The evidences on which he relies have been culled from no other treatise than the Arthaśāstra. Moreover, as I have already mentioned, inspite of the unscrupulous means recommended against those persons or subjects who were found to be seditious or inimical to the sovereign, or against the unjust and hostile states, there was a wide field for the operation of the moral and humane principles both in internal and external politics. I do not therefore see how Prof. Winternitz's observation quoted above can be correct (see in this connection Ch. IX of my 'Aspects').

'Whether the Buddhists hated to have anything to do with the Arthaśāstra.

It is further stated by him that because the Arthaśāstra teaches the methods of achieving material success without caring to see whether or not they agree with religion and morality, the Buddhists would never have anything to do with the Arthaśāstra. I may mention that there were in India many Buddhist kings and emperors who had to successfully deal with all political matters including questions of diplomacy and inter-state policy. It is yet to be seen that kingdoms and empires can be conducted without the necessity of applying ways and means, which are not questionable, judged by the standard of private morality. That the Buddhist kings and heads of clans could carry on their administration, and dealings with other states, in such a strictly moral way, is more than what any scholar can prove. In fact, Buddha prohibits only the Buddhist bhikkhus and not the Buddhist laymen to participate in talks about kings, their military expeditions, etc. On the other hand, as regards Buddhist laymen (see *e.g.*, Dīgha-Nikāya), it is very probable that they used to participate in political matters quite as much as the Hindus used to do, with certain restrictions as to the destruction of animal life in peaceful times, etc., which the Buddhist social code prescribed. The mention of 'Artha-vidyā' in the list of arts and sciences in the Lalitavistara makes it probable that it corresponded to the Arthaśāstra of the Hindus. The Jainas with their strict moral and social code, more rigid in some directions than that of the Buddhists, did not hesitate to write on polity, *e.g.*, Hemachandra's *Arhan-nīti* and Somadeva Sūri's *Nītivākyāmṛta.* Within the small space devoted by Hemachandra to politics proper in his work, in which he pays greater attention to civil and criminal law, he recommends the use of sāma, dāna, bheda, daṇḍa quite in the same way as a Hindu writer on polity would have done. He enjoins that war should be carried on boldly, and in this recommendation the Jaina scruple regarding the destruction of life caused in wars does not debar him from writing it. Again in Somadeva Sūri's work, we find it laid down as among the duties of a dūta to take to upajāpa (*cf. Artha.*), send tīkṣṇa-puruṣas (a class of spies) [*cf.* Artha.], and have resort to several such means for achieving success. He also mentions upajāpa and the sending of tīkṣṇapuruṣ as among the means of wresting a citadel during wars. The reason why these acts were not regarded as conflicting with the moral code was very probably this that the dealings with the hostile people or states were looked upon as constituting a field where, to a certain extent, these acts were considered quite appropriate. If again, Kāmandakī be a Buddhist, as some scholars think, then it would negative the proposition that the Buddhists had nothing to do with the Arthaśāstra which includes daṇḍanīti as part of its subject-matter.

Re the rendering of the third member of the trvarga.

I do not understand why Prof. Winternitz limits the meaning of Kāma, the third member of the trvarga to merely the fulfilment of sexual desire by following the dictates of love (p. 1). The word Kāma had a much wider signification even in the Vedic period. For instance, in the Ṛg Veda, VII, 62, 3; 97. 4; VIII, 21, 6, we find the uses of the word in connexion with prayers for the fulfilment of either desires generally, or those for wealth, strength, etc.; also in the Taittirīya Saṃhitā, II, 2, 3, 1 which says, 'He who does not attain his desires (kāma) should offer a cake on eight potsherds to Agni as desire!' In the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, V. 5. 1, 12 we find a passage in connexion with the offering of oblations in a sacrifice enjoining that they may be offered by one who is annādyakāma, *i.e.*, desirous of having food, etc. Even in Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra (II, 11), kāma has been taken to include the pleasures of all the five senses in addition to the meaning in which Prof. Winternitz takes it: श्रोत्वक्चक्षु जिह्वाघ्राणानामात्मसंयुक्तेन मनसाधिष्ठितानाम् स्वेषु स्वेषु विषयेष्वानुकूल्यत: प्रवृत्ति: काम:

Conclusion.

A feature of the paper that has struck me as requiring special comment is how Prof. Winternitz has been hyper-critical in dealing with the evidences or arguments pointing to the early composition of the Arthaśāstra as it states itself to be, while his critical sense relaxes its rigidity in the ready reception of evidences that may appear as favouring his idea of the later composition of the treatise. As instances of the former, I may mention the nice distinction drawn by him between schools and individuals in connexion with his treatment of 'Iti Kauṭilyaḥ' (p. 16), his arguments based on the very name of Kauṭilya (crookedness), the readiness with which he attaches importance to some of the statements of Dr. Otto Stein without assaying their real worth, *e.g.*, regarding slavery in India, milestones on roads, possession of horses and elephants by private individuals, lands of agriculturists remaining unharmed in war, etc. As illustrations of the latter, I should point out how from the strained meaning of saṃhṛtya in the passage already cited, he concludes the existence of a rich literature on economics and technical arts betokening the later origin of the Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra; how he tries to explain away (p. 23) the early existence of Dharmaśāstra and Arthaśāstra by remarking that they were nothing but mere didactic poetry in which Dharma and Artha were taught, though they are expressly mentioned as part of the curriculum of study meant for the education of the prince; how he does not hesitate to include the philosophical systems of Vedanta and Pūrvamimāṃsā in Trayī in spite of the fact that Trayī has been expressly defined by Kauṭilya as meaning only the three Vedas—Sāma, Ṛk, Yajur excluding from the category the Atharva and Itihāsa Vedas (*cf.* Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, IV. 6, 7, I; VI, 3, 1. 13; Taitt. Br., I, 2, 1, 26); how the mere way of arguing by pūrvapakṣa and uttarapakṣa is thought sufficient to warrant the supposition of Kauṭilya's acquaintance with the Pūrvamimāṃsā system of philosophy; how he concludes that Lokāyata contained in itself the Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika systems of philosophy in their early stages on no other ground than that this sort of origin of the systems is not an impossibility and that Kauṭilya's ignorance of the systems of philosophy except Sāṅkhya, Yoga and Lokāyata is difficult to believe. I do not realize why he does not here resort to the same mode of reasoning as he has done in regard to silence on certain points in the Indika of Megasthenes, *viz.*, that the systems of philosophy not mentioned by Kauṭilya did not come into being as such at the time of the composition of the Arthaśāstra (4th century B.C.). There are Western scholars who in fact are of opinion that the four systems of philosophy not named in the Arthaśāstra came into existence at varying dates after the 4th century B.C., *e.g.*, Prof. Jacobi placing the composition of the Vedānta and Mīmāṃsa Sūtras after 200 A.D. (J. A. O. S., XXXI, 1 ff.) and Prof. Garbe placing the composition of the Nyāya Sūtras in 150 B.C. and the Vaiśeṣika Sūtras after 200 A.D. But Prof. Winternitz is so much obsessed with the idea of the composition of the Arthaśāstra about the 3rd century A. D. that he must try to reconcile the silence of the treatise about the names of the four systems with its composition in the 3rd century A.D. by supposing

LETTERS OF SIR ASUTOSH

II

(1)

77, Russa Road North,
Bhowanipore,
Calcutta.

The 3rd November, 1918.

Dear Lord Pentland,

It is with considerable reluctance that I am taking the liberty to address you on a matter, which though apparently personal, may involve wider issues.

Some time ago I received an invitation from H. H. the Maharajah of Mysore to deliver the address at the first Convocation of the Mysore University fixed for the 19th October last. I accepted the invitation, and on my way to Mysore arrived at the Madras Central Railway Station on the 17th October. I was travelling in a reserved first class compartment, which had a label put on it by the Railway authorities showing my name and designation. As soon as I alighted from the carriage, a European policeman looked at the label and began to put me questions as to where I would stay, how long and so on. To tell you the truth, I did not appreciate the attention on the part of the police, and I could not see that there was anything in the appearance of one of His Majesty's Judges which justified suspicion or impertinent curiosity on the part of the police. I drove on to the residence of Sir Sivaswamy Iyer, lately a Member of your Executive Council, who had invited me to be his guest during my stay at Madras. I left the same evening for Mysore. I returned to Madras on Wednesday, the 23rd October. The first thing that I heard on my return was that the police had made enquiries about me during my absence, and Sir Sivaswami Iyer handed to me a message which he had received, permitting me at the same time to make such use of it as might be necessary. The original is with me and runs as follows:

"SIR P. S. SIVASWAMI IYER,
MYLAPORE.

Kindly let me know if the Hon. Sir Asutosh Mookerjee (Calcutta University Commission) will stay with you on his arrival on the 23rd, if not, let me know where he will stay.

From Inspector of Police, Mount Road Division."

I left the same evening for Trichinopoly and returned to Madras on the morning of Friday, the 25th. I had arranged to leave Madras the same afternoon by the Calcutta Mail. I was to travel in a reserved first class compartment and the Railway authorities as usual had put up a label showing my name and designation. On my arrival at the station, a European policeman accosted me and began to make enquiries. As these seemed to me to be very impertinent, I expressed my annoyance whereupon he held back; but he remained on the platform watching me till the train started.

I shall be grateful if you will direct an enquiry and find out what all this means. My first impulse was to write to Lord Chelmsford on the subject; but on consideration I felt that it might be unfair to you not to let you know first all the facts. It does seem to me inexplicable that men in my position should be shadowed by the police. I am glad to be able to say that though in the course of my tours as a Member of the University Commission I have been in many places in all parts of India, I have not had the honour of such attention from the police anywhere except at Madras.

Yours faithfully,
ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE.

H. E. the Right Honourable Baron Pentland of Lyth, P.C., G.C.I.E., Governor of Madras, Madras.

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(2)

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
MADRAS.
November 6, 1918.

DEAR SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE,

Your letter of the 3rd November has just reached me here. This information is entirely new to me and I shall gladly make enquiry.

I am,
Yours very faithfully,
PENTLAND.

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(3)

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
MADRAS.
The 3rd December, 1918.

MY DEAR SIR ASUTOSH,

Will you kindly refer to your letter addressed to His Excellency Lord Pentland, dated 3rd November, 1918. His

Excellency has made enquiries and finds that there is no question of any surveillance by the Police having been authorised, intended or carried out. The enquiries at the Railway Station were in accordance with the existing practice in the case of all first and second class passengers and were in no sense personal to your case. On the 17th October the arrival of 16 passengers including yourself was thus recorded of whom 9 were Europeans.

His Excellency has also ascertained that the enquiry made of Sir Sivaswami Aiyar regarding your address was not from the Inspector of Police but from the Inspector of Post Offices who at the instance of the Presidency Postmaster asked the Postmaster at Mylapore by telephone to make arrangements for delivery of your mails and to ascertain from Sir Sivaswami Aiyar, with whom you were understood to be staying, your address and the period of your stay in Madras. Sir Sivaswami Aiyar under misapprehension addressed his reply to the Inspector of Police instead of to the Inspector of Post Offices. His Excellency regrets that this misapprehension on Sir Sivaswami Aiyar's part should have misled you.

Yours sincerely,
(Illegible.)

The Hon'ble Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, C.S.I.,
77, Russa Road (North),
Bhowanipur, Calcutta.

(4)

THE HON'BLE SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE.

SIR P. S. SIVASWAMI AIYER,
K.C.S.I., C.I.E.

SUDHARMA,
EDWARD ELLIOTS ROAD,
MYLAPORE, MADRAS.

The 15th November, 1918.

DEAR SIR ASUTOSH,

* * * * *

Evidently you do not seem to have forgotten the gentleman who made inquiries of you here. I understand that the Police Commissioner has been asked why you were placed under police surveillance during your visit here. I wonder what explanation he is going to give except that a Bengali is a Bengali and that if some big fish is allowed to escape some really queer fish too might escape.

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
P. S. SIVASWAMI AIYER.

To

THE HON'BLE SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE,
Bhowanipur, Calcutta.

THE BUDDHIST ANALOGUE OF A BENGALI STORY

In Kāśīrama Dasa's Mahābhārata[1] we read that the *Aśvamedha* horse cared for by Arjuna entered Kauṇḍinyapura, the capital of Rāja Candrahaṁsa. This tale does not occur in the original Sanskrit Mahābhārata and therefore may be regarded as belonging to Bengali folk-lore. Now this is the story of Candrahaṁsa's early life in brief :—

Rājā Dadhimukha, a devotee of Vishṇu, was without child. After the performance of *Yajña*, he got Candrahaṁsa for his son. But the boy was very unfortunate. His father was poisoned, his mother followed his father in death ; his nurse died of dysentery. He was taken to the house of his mother's father—a Rājā. The latter was killed by his minister, Dhṛshṭabuddhi by name. The minister became jealous of Candrahaṁsa when Brahmin soothsayers wise in *aṅgavidyā* said the boy would become *Rāja Chakravarti*. Dhṛshṭabuddhi ordered his *Caṇḍāla* (executioner) to take Candrahaṁsa unnoticed to the jungle and make an end of him there. The executioner, compassionating the boy, spared his life, and after having killed a dog showed its blood to the king as an evidence of the execution of his commission. The boy, thus left in the wilderness, began to cry. The childless Kaliṅga, another minister, brought the boy to his house and adopted him. He was soon discovered by Dhṛshṭabuddhi who was now determined to put him out of the way. He proposed to Kaliṅga to send Candrahaṁsa with an important letter to his son Madana, as this could not be done by an ordinary messenger. So Candrahaṁsa went with the letter to Madana, which he was charged under an oath not to read. It was written in the letter:

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[1] Edited by C. C. Bandopādhyāya, pp. 1097-1104.

Śunaha Madana tumi āmāra saṁvāda.
Candrahaṁse pāṭhāinu tava vidyamāne!
Yāvā mātra visha dāna karive yatane!

Trans. "Attend, O Madana, to my news. I am sending Candrahaṁsa to you. As soon as he arrives, give him poison, with care."

Candrahaṁsa arrived in the pleasure garden of Madana, but being spent with exhaustion for the long journey in *Jyaishṭha*, he fell into deep sleep. Now the beautiful daughter of Dhṛshṭabuddhi, Vishayā by name, came to the garden to worship Śiva. She was struck by the beautiful appearance of the prince sleeping in the shade of the tree, when suddenly noticing the letter sticking out of his head-dress, she felt curious to know its contents. The perusal stunned her to know that her father could be so cruel as to kill such a beautiful youth, and she was determined to be his wife or she had worshipped Śiva in vain. So she cleverly made a slight but a very important alteration in the letter, by the addition of *yā* (য়া) to *visha* (বিষ):

Nayanakajjala nīla nakhete kariyā ।
Vishayā likhiya dilā harashita haiyā ॥

Trans. She took the collyrium from the eye in her nail, and with gladness wrote 'Vishayā.'

Candrahaṁsa did not know that the alteration had been made. On receiving the letter and on perceiving its peremptory character Madana gave his sister Vishayā to Candrahaṁsa's wife. Dhṛshṭabuddhi was in high dudgeon when he came to see his plan all baffled. Still he wanted to kill Candrahaṁsa in the temple of Caṇḍī, notwithstanding that he was now his son-in-law; herein he was defeated also, for his device recoiled on him and killed Madana. He committed suicide, but was restored to life by Candrahaṁsa, who became Rājā, as a matter of course.

Here is the Buddhist Analogue. This is taken from Buddhaghosha's commentary on the *Dhammapada* (Bk. II, 1-3; vv. 21-23), entitled "Rise and Career of Treasurer Ghoshaka."[1]

The treasurer made one more attempt on Ghosaka's life. He wrote a letter to the Superintendent of his estate saying, "This is my base-born son; kill him, and I will do what is right for you," pinned it to the hem of Ghosaka's clothing, and ordered Ghosaka to carry it to the Superintendent. (The treasurer had never taught Ghosaka to read, for he expected sooner or later to kill him.) When Ghosaka remarked that he needed provisions for the journey, the treasurer said, "Not at all; in such and such a village lives a friend of mine, who is a treasurer; he will give you something to eat." When Ghosaka stopped at the village treasurer's house, the treasurer's wife took a fancy to him, and the daughter of the household fell madly in love with him. (It was she that had been his wife in the former existence at Kotuhalaka, and it was through the merit she acquired by bestowing alms on the Private Buddha that she was reborn as the treasurer's daughter. No wonder that her old passion for him returned!) When the treasurer's daughter discovered that Ghosaka was carrying his death-warrant, she secretly removed it and substituted another letter of her own composition, which read as follows: "This is my son, Ghosaka. Bestow treasure on him, prepare for the festival of his marriage to the daughter of the village treasurer; build him a splendid palace and provide him with a stony guard of soldiers. When you have done, send me word, saying 'I have done this and that.'"

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[1] See Burlingame—Buddhaghosa's Dhammapada Commentary (*Proc. of the American Academy*: 45-20, p. 504.)

When the Superintendent read the letter he immediately did as he was told.

Another parallel is found in the story of *The Son of Seven Mothers* in the *Tales of the Punjab* (by Flora Annie Steel), pp. 95 f. The story is briefly this :

The king is fascinated by a white hind with golden horns and silver feet, who subsequently turned into a beautiful maiden. She was a cunning white witch. When the king asked her to be his queen she demanded the fourteen eyes of his seven queens, as a condition. The infatuated king plucked out the eyes of the hapless queens and handed them over to the witch, which she made into a necklace and gave to her mother. The son of the youngest queen, called the son of Seven Mothers, endeavoured to restore the eyes to his mothers. The witch, however, wanted to kill the boy and sent him to her mother with a potsherd with the following words inscribed on it : "Kill the bearer at once and sprinkle his blood like water." The Prince did not know how to read and write. While proceeding on his mission he was noticed by a princess who fell in love with him. She was exceedingly clever and learned. She took a similar-shaped bit of potsherd and wrote on it these words : "Take care of this lad, give him all he desires." He got the necklace with the thirteen eyes on it (for the hog had eaten one in hunger) and the Yogi's cow.

With the above may be compared Grimm's tale of the *Devil with three Golden Hairs.*

KALIPADA MITRA

SOME CURRENCY LESSONS OF THE WAR

I

The Industrial Revolution broke the spell of isolation that lay so heavily on all parts of the world. The driving power of the economic forces, namely, improvements in communication, cheapening of transport and setting up division of labour and an organisation of credit system international in its scope, that followed in its wake, has battered down the geographic barriers that separate men almost to the vanishing point. People worked together and exchanged the products of their labour. In travel, in spreading news, in broadcasting ideas, in organising and co-ordinating business ventures and labour unions,[1] the geographical boundaries were overcome and even political boundaries separating nations proved no great obstacles. Economically viewed the whole world was transformed into one physical unit.[2] It was not industry alone but science, commerce, art and literature leaped the national boundary fence. The commercial, economic, financial, social, industrial and cultural life of civilization has passed beyond national boundaries. As one writer puts it, "There was a very sensitive interlacing of the world's financial capitals owing to the development of the telegraphic system and of banking." [3]

Murderous, ruinous and hideous war fell upon the economically closely-knit peaceful world almost as a terrible surprise. All countries were lulled into sleep by their faith in economic internationalism, democracy and narrow sphere of the functions of the state. The consciousness of economic interdependence of nations was considered as a sufficient force and sound guarantee potent enough to check national aggression. In Germany, however, where the teachings of Karl Marx, Bismarck, Clausewitz, Neitzsche and Treitschke had profound influence, the faith in the economic harmonies which were so rigorously preached by Bastiat and Cobden and the idea of pacific internationalism as the result of the realisation that "all the world is an economic unit; all nations are economically interdependent" had no educative influence on the German people and the whole nation had a long preconcerted plan for the war.[1] The Germans always had the principle of "conscious and deliberate thinking out things in advance" and a "careful adaptation of means to an end" and this could be traced in the field of German education, transport, credit, town-planning, insurance and industrial structure.

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[1] The motto of International Socialism was "Workers of all countries unite across your frontiers."

[2] See C. D. Burns, "International Politics," p. 1.

[3] See the aims and objects of the Garton Foundation for promoting Peace.

The War has been a school of character in more than one sense. Its "bracing experience" shook the economists out of the narrow groove of their conservative thought and their intellectual efficiency was stimulated to a very appreciable extent. The war accomplished several things which would not have been the case even by a widespread radicalism in the field of politics. The state has assumed an intimate control of trade and industry. Several restrictions were imposed on the ordinary comforts, conveniences, and even the necessaries of life and were borne with much docility and comparative cheerfulness as the pressure of war increased. The workers sacrificed some of their fundamental economic liberties for securing which they laboured so insistently in the latter half of the 19th century. The very liberties of trade, speech, press and meeting and even Habeas Corpus and Trial by Jury were surrendered when so required by the Government in the

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[1] Mr. W. H. Dawson speaks of 32 German War pamphlets published during the years 1911-13. Six of them contemplate a war with England, seven a war with France, and nine an European conflagration—*vide* "What is Wrong with Germany," p. 144.

Defence of the Realm. Censorship of letters, telephones, and other means of communication were tolerated without the least murmuring or dissent on the part of the people. "Neither in the parliament, nor in the press, nor on any platform, nor even in social circles was there any criticism or mere suggestion of impatient tolerance of these subversive measures of individual freedom." Public opinion was so strongly on the side of the Government, that it would have been considered nothing short of disloyalty to criticise any of these measures. Implicit and unquestioned obedience and uncritical acceptance was expected and freely given by the people. "To think, to utter and to argue freely according to conscience" was thoroughly abandoned. "Defence is better than opulence" said Adam Smith and these memorable words were often quoted to justify the stringent measures of the state. The "Machiavellian" reason of state silenced effectively all thinking and judgment.

There is no attempt made in this article to doubt the wisdom or the "compelling necessity" of these extraordinary steps. Nor is there any attempt to discuss the psychological reasons for the almost servile docility to these measures. The reasoning faculty of the educated people even, simply refused to function, perhaps cowed down by the fear of common danger and must have degenerated into the passionate imagination of the herd mind which requires uncritical co-operation and usurps the throne of judgment. This herd mind believes implicitly the Government "war-truth" and the people are fashioned and directed into channels of thought so as to realise the necessity of presenting an "united fighting front" to the enemy. The economy of truth was successfully carried by the Government and its subsidised press which by its artful propaganda lead to deceive the people, enemy as well as the home. The war fever had to be "bucked up" and it would be highly impolitic if their reverses are not covered up but exposed. It is this that has been designated by philosophers as the "moral degradation of war." A new psychology of the people has been created as a direct result of the war strains and infections. The limited length of this article would not permit a free scope for the enumeration of the other degrading features in human psychology by the war-idealism. Just as the mentality of the educated as well as the uneducated men was insidiously warped so also the pockets of the rich, the middle and the poor classes were picked to a great extent by the system of war finance pursued by the belligerent countries. While the war has led to the moral degradation of the belligerent nations with no positive moral gains to offset it, this was not the case in the matter of industrial production. Large-scale production, the use of improved and automatic machinery, the development of efficient methods of industrial and business organisation, the use of substitutes and improved methods of internal distribution of commodities were adopted on a large scale and these might be considered as the economic gains resulting out of the war.

In the field of finance, however, there are not many positive gains to offset the total money cost of the war that the belligerents had to spend.[1] The sagacity of the English Finance ministers led them to discover new direct taxes, increase the income and excess profits tax and broaden the basis of taxation. New methods of loaning as the continuous loaning policy inaugurated by Drummond-Fraser, were adopted.

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[1] Different estimates are given out by the different statisticians. Mr. Edgar Crammond estimates it at about $210,000,000,000 (*vide* Cantor Lectures, February-March, 1918, see also Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, May, 1915). Prof. Seligman reckons the cost at $232,000,000,000 (*vide* his article "The cost of the war and how it was met," American Economic Review, Dec., 1919). A still more recent estimate is as follows: "Before the world war the 16 belligerent countries had total debts of 28,600 millions of dollars with a total note circulation of 5,000 millions making a total of promises to pay amounting to something more than 33 billions of dollars. When the Treaty of Paris was signed these 16 countries reported debts of 171,633 millions of dollars and paper money issues of 77,954 millions making a total of promises to pay about 8 times the volume of 1913.

Another estimate of world indebtedness was given by Mr. O. P. Austin of the National City Bank of New York. In 1913 it was 43 billions of dollars, in 1918 it was 205 and in 1921 it was 400 billions (*vide* p. 43 "Our Eleven Billions" by R. Momtsier).

The French and the German Finance ministers pursuing quite a different and faulty method of financing the war placed more reliance on loans and their ingenuity manifested itself in the diverse ways in which they created fiat currency and fiat credit. The Italian and the German Governments went so far as to check the publication of rates of exchange in order to check speculation.

The war has been called "the laboratory of Economic Science." During the recent war numberless financial experiments were conducted and the lessons that these experiments teach should not go unheeded. Humanity should profit by these disastrous experiments. Until then the huge sacrifices, human as well as material, have been made in vain. Some of the financial changes which stand out as the direct results of the war have a determinant bearing upon the world's future. The financial wounds of war will not be of quite transient importance. Financial recuperation cannot be achieved solely by the self-healing powers of nature. This has been rendered possible in the domain of human life. The reproduction powers of man soon filled up the gap caused by the war. Financial recovery is possible only by organised co-operative efforts directed by reason and good-will. The shift in the financial strength of nations during and after the war is a noticeable feature. According to Sir J. C. Stamp[1] the United States is the leading nation of the world even before the war. He arranges the following countries in this order according to the estimated wealth per head of the population:

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[1] *Vide* Sir J. C. Stamp, "The Wealth and Income of the Chief Powers," Journal of the Statistical Society, July, 1919. He says that his estimates in the case of the United Kingdom and Australia would not be more inaccurate than by 10%, the estimates of United States, Canada, Germany by 20%, those of France, Italy, Argentina, Belgium, Holland and Sweden by 30%, the remaining by 40%.

Countries.	National capital £1,000,000	Wealth per head. £	National income £1,000,000	Income per head £
United States	42,000	424	7,250	72
United Kingdom ...	14,500	318	2,250	50
Australia	1,530	318	258	54
Canada	2,285	300	300	40
Germany	16,550	244	2,150	30
France	12,000	303	1,500	38
Italy	4,480	128	800	23
Spain	2,940	144	230	11
Japan	2,400	44	325	6
Argentina	2,400	340	...	...
Belgium	1,200	157	...	...
Holland	1,050	167	...	...
Sweden	940	168	...	...
Switzerland	800	205	...	...
Denmark	500	176	...	...
Norway	200	90	...	...

Though no regular statistical estimate of the post-war situation can be obtained yet it is an undisputed fact that the United States of America and Japan[1] have gained largely. Argentina holds the first place among the neutrals. Canada and Australia have gained substantially in spite of their war expenditure. Holland, the Scandinavian countries and Spain have added to their wealth. Of the victorious allies the United Kingdom stands first, France second, Italy third; Germany, Austria and Russia would easily occupy the bottom of the list. If population, national resources, developed industry and commerce are the criteria for making the calculation, the U. S. A. easily tops the list.[1] But the United Kingdom and the victorious allies possess powers of healing and recovery and their Governments should only display a keen anxiety in their earnest endeavour to check inflation and solve their indebtedness problem.

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[1] This was written before the recent disastrous earthquake which ruined Tokio and Yokohama.

They should give up their policy of "making money" and set up without delay a reorganised system of finance so that success may attend on their efforts at internal reconstruction at any rate it may prevent them from stepping back into the old mire. If the old current of creative energy were set to operation the welfare of the people might be secured.[2]

Another financial fact resulting out of the turmoil of the great war is the alteration in the size and distribution of real incomes in the several nations due to changes in prices earnings and taxation brought about by the war. This brought in its train state regulation of supplies, prices, wages and profits. The conception of the state as the mere policeman and preserver of law and order has given way to a more liberal conception of the functions of the State. The war has achieved in a peaceful manner what socialism has been aiming to bring about with its dark and lowering threats of a general strike or "Lightning strike" or the usurpation of political power

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[1] Scott Nearing gives a rough idea of the present distribution of the World's wealth. *Vide* "The Next Step:"—

The United States of America	330	Billions of dollars	The concentration of wealth in the first three countries should be noted. The result of the war is to perpetuate the Great Power system in International politics as before.
The United Kingdom ...	120	,,	
France	100	,,	
Russia	40	,,	
Japan	40	,,	
Argentina	25	,,	
Canada	25	,,	
Italy	25	,,	
Germany	20	,,	
Belgium	15	,,	

[2] British Exports in 1923 were only 74·5 per cent. of the pre-war total quantity; in 1921 it was only 50%. *Vide* D. W. Caddick, "Outline of British Trade," p. 111.

into its hands. Though there has been no complete liberation of labour from the serfdom of wages, the state has become paternalistic to a great extent. The statement "we are all socialists now" is undoubtedly true as a broad generalisation.[1] The Western countries in their endeavour to achieve industrial peace are slowly groping their way through Whitley councils, Trade Boards, Syndicalism, Guilds, Nationalisation and State Controls. These point to an increasing socialisation of the duties of the state. At any rate, there is no more *laissez faire* policy pursued by the belligerent countries. Even in the matter of monetary economics there is bound to be a managed system for quite a long time. It has too long been thought that currency and exchange are fields in which the activities of the state are far from desirable.

Non-interference on the part of the state which was preached almost like a religious dogma is on the wane and even in democratic America the tendency is to strengthen the Government and broaden its functions. There seems to be a tacit acceptance of the informal moral philosophy of the socialists with its ideas of brotherhood, mutual aid, fellowship and the common life.

Government policies in finance have a vital influence on the lives of the people. Public finance was long considered as a subject of recondite nature bearing only a remote influence on the lives of the citizens. But the "painless financial policies" pursued by the finance ministers during the wartime led to invisible taxation, the disappearance of lifelong savings, through the inflation of prices and the abnormal rise in the cost of living of the poor and the middle classes leading to the undernourishment of their children [1] and families. The Governments have confiscated a large part of the wealth of people by the insidious process of continuous inflation. A few of the people have profited by this method but this unjust distribution of wealth impoverishing a large section of the population and benefiting a few "Profiteers" have struck a powerful blow against the capitalist system. Lenin was shrewd enough to guess this and that was why he debauched currency to destroy the capitalist system.

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[1] Sir L. C. Money says, "The British nation has won through unprecedented economic difficulties of the greatest war in history by methods which it had despised. National organisation triumphed in a land where it had been denied. In this sense the England of 1920-24 was a socialist England by common consent."—*The Trimuph of Nationalisation.*

The financial travails that the poor and the middle classes had to bear left deep scars and bitterness in their minds and everybody realises that there is an intimate interrelationship between fiscal policy, financial stability and political security. Economics are necessarily at the base of all politics. The State should not forsake its "Economic morality" which is so fundamental to all human activities and relationship. Lecky's warning that "Nations seldom realise till too late how prominent a place a sound system of finance holds among the vital elements of national stability and well-being how widely and seriously human happiness is affected by the downfall or perturbation of national credit or by excessive and injudicious taxation" has proved to be too true. Any artificial and unwise interference with the country's currency policy is bound to shatter the economic structure creating misunderstanding about the relative value of property, goods, services and is bound to affect the course of smooth progress.

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[1] A glance at the report on the "Food Conditions in Germany" would enable the reader to visualise the famine conditions created in Germany by deficient production of foodstuffs and their defective distribution. The following extract is very illuminating, "Turnips were the staple food even in the hospitals. The hospital can no longer be heated properly, blankets were used up, mothers naturally suffered to a special degree. Children could not be kept clean—no soap—no clothes. Many children living on half a litre of vegetable soup a day cooked without food or meat. Children too destitute of clothes to appear in the streets at all and perished slowly at home. No wood for coffin-boxes for the children but adults were buried in mass graves, 10 bodies one over the other with the layer of earth and lime between. No swaddling clothes, the dead wrapped in paper. See the following C.M.D. 52, 54, and 280. Also read F. A. Vanderlip's "What happened to Europe."

Starvation leads to communism as in Germany or Bolshevism as in the case of Russia. As the bare economic necessities of life: food, clothing, shelter, means of decency, good health and cleanliness, books, education and leisure, become fewer and fewer there is the cramping terror of destitution and the deadly miasma of the slums leading the people to clamour for a free and equal distribution of the material resources of the nation among the whole population. They make an attempt to seize wealth on behalf of the masses and this ends in communism.[1] As Norman Angell puts it, "Economic failure and famine is the soil on which Bolshevism grows.[2] The economically sound countries make an attempt to establish a "Cordon sanitaire," against this state of things so that "revolution may not be carried in a hand-bag" into their countries. These states now realise that they can never become wealthy and prosperous so long as Central Europe is weltering in economic chaos, political confusion and unsettlement. Economically undesirable social changes have resulted from the rising prices. There was a transfer of wealth from the wage-earners and ordinary people to business men. Though their situation was improved to a certain extent by a higher level of money wages, still the disturbances that followed on account of the inflation of money have produced a morbid outlook on life and the vestiges of every good and proper feeling are completely destroyed. That is why Lowenfeld[3] says that "currency is the corner stone of practical life" and when once it is set rolling like the Car of Juggernath none can prophesy what actually would happen. Currency is an integral part of the life of the people and any Government influence in prostituting it for its own benefit would menace the existence of the whole society. Monetary changes produce grave evils even during peace time. War time experience, however, confirms this truth, but the disturbances that followed on account of the abnormal inflation of money cannot be isolated and studied. They have been intensified by other concurrent phenomena as the disorganisation of production, abnormal state control, the disturbed conditions of foreign countries and the growing aspirations of labour. It justifies fully the search[1] for an efficient substitute instead of the present changing monetary measures.

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[1] J. M. Keynes says, "Men will not always die quietly. For starvation which brings to some lethargy and a helpless despair, drives other temperaments to the nervous instability of hysteria and to a mad despair. And these in their distress may overturn the remnants of organisation and submerge civilisation itself in their attempts to satisfy desperately the overwhelming needs of the individual. This is the danger against which all our resources, courage and idealism must now co-operate."—"Economic Consequences of the Peace," p. 214.

[2] *Vide* Norman Angell, "The Peace Treaty and the Economic Chaos of Europe," p. 39.

[3] *Vide* H. Lowenfeld, "The Birthright of Man," p. 94.

It would be impossible to survey the entire gamut of financial disorders created by the war. The colossal indebtedness, the bloated inflation of paper money, bank as well as Government money, the collapse of the pre-war values of their currency systems and their depreciated exchanges have well-nigh shattered the economic standing and stability of these countries. Nothing short of a supreme national effort will enable them to survive and drastic measures like a capital levy, a forced loan, revaluation of the currency or even repudiation alone can bring the needed financial relief. These measures might be decried as "Governmental robbery" but nothing short of the adoption of a 'clean slate' can place the nations on their economic feet.[2] The decontrol of exchange undeniably acted as a sobering influence on the financial situation of the allied countries, yet the restoration of healthy financial conditions is still far off. The inability to retrench the military expenditure and the impossibility of increasing taxation any further is forcing the continental States to slide still further down on the slippery path of inflationary finance. In the evolution of human economics much attention has always been paid to the influence of economic conditions on the political aspect and history of the country's progress but the present militarism of the nations is having profound and sinister effect on the economic conditions of the human society. Intense, selfish, and aggressive nationalistic states which consider their own people as the "chosen salt of the earth" are creating situations leading to war, economic chaos and retrogression.

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[1] Even before the war, economists from the time of Lowe and Scrope to Jevons, Dr. Marshall and Prof. Fisher, were exercising their ingenuity to discover a stable monetary unit or standard of value.

[2] The "pegging" of the dollar-sterling exchange was given up finally in March 1919. The French exchange which was pegged solely by the credit granted by Great Britain was also given up. The notes of the Bank of France ceased to increase from this period. The ways and means advances were brought under control.

"May the fruits reaped by the swords of the army not be destroyed by the pens of the ministers" was the grave and solemn warning of Napoleon. The Big Four, as Mr. J. M. Keynes points out, have forgotten this point. They have committed their nations to great extravagance in their huge military expenditure as usual and in the name of self-determination they have created the recent war.

The war [1] which was waged with a solemn determination "to end war" has produced a financial and economic chaos which borders well-nigh on destitution and starvation.[2] Several people predict "better times ahead" but so long as the economic indications of chaos, such as the breakdown of exchanges and of international trade and business depression in Japan, Great Britain, Argentina and the United States of America are existing it is folly to be optimistic. The present

[1] Mr. Brailsford says the same thing. "The treaty worked against life, against creation, against production. It crushed the most productive people, forgetting that production carried to the utmost level attained in Central Europe can be the effort only of generations of education, science and organisation. It showered its favours on Poles, Rumanians and Jugoslavs, primitive un-schooled races.........—who never are likely to replace the Germans as industrial or intellectual workers"—" After the Peace."

[2] General Smuts refers to the Peace Conference as a "seething cauldron of human greed and passion." Lord Robert Cecil has said, " Any one who has had any personal experience of that strange body will desire anything rather than a renewal of its deliberations."

Hansard H.C., 14th April, 1920, V. 127, p. 1747.

unsound currency has destroyed the pre-war economic system of Europe. It depended for its prosperity on the smooth course of exchanges. Europe's manufactured goods were sold for the food products required for their people and the necessary raw materials required for their industries. The bill of exchange which was international currency was always maintained at a comparatively steady rate by gold shipments. This safeguard has been destroyed and the paper currency by virtue of the Gresham's Law has driven out gold from circulation and the international debts can no longer be paid by the gold exports. Foreign bills have acquired huge value in terms of inflated prices and currency. It is impossible to obtain the raw materials that the European Countries need to restart their industrial production and resume their flow of exports to other countries. The war has left them "the legacy of huge stacks of paper currency" which are useless for the purpose of replenishing their raw materials and the required foodstuffs.

The gravity of the economic problem is in the currency situation. Any stable reconstruction of society would have to stabilise currency. It is the vital thing, the thing of active importance and the main basis on which real economic development hinges. The secret of success lies finally upon the perception of the problem that currency is the back of every thing. Once this is tackled, everything will straighten itself beautifully.

Mr. A. W. Flux says, "The exchanges are a mirror reflecting the true economic situation of the countries." The rates of exchange are the writing on the wall and he who reads them will understand the economic condition of the country. The variations in exchange represent almost infallibly the economic progress or retrogression of these countries. The foreign exchanges reflect the measure of confidence which the business man have in the confidence of the promises of the members and Government of other communities. Hence as soon as 'pegging' was removed the British pound fell to of its pre-war value, the French franc and the Italian lira fell to a quarter of their par values. The Russian rouble, the German mark, the Austrian krone and the Polish crowns fell to less than $\frac{1}{10}$ of 1% of par. This is to say the least of it but their daily and almost hourly fluctuations brought utter demoralisation in business transactions. What is wanted is the regaining of the lost value in their currencies and it is credit alone that can accomplish this.[1] With stable value attached to their currency they can buy foreign raw materials and set their unemployed to work again.[2] Unless the various currencies are once more placed on a stable basis in relation to gold and to one another there would not be the pre-war mobility of capital and until then no real trade revival can actually take place. The almost utopian internationalism and impressive outburst of idealism of the Woodrow Wilsonian days or the vague cosmopolitan sentimentalism of the post-war era have vanished and America is loath to grant loans to any belligerent country except Britain and France. America has once more isolated herself from European affairs. As Mr. Hoover has laid down, America would never help any of the nations until "it resolutely sets in order its internal and financial situation, increase its productivity, curtail consumption of luxuries, expenditure upon armaments, cease hostilities and treat neighbours fairly." But political incompetence is still the order of the day. Its manifestations can be seen in blockades, embargoes, censorship, mobilisation, large armies, navies and war. Hence America finding no economic security in Europe is allowing

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[1] *Vide* "the speech of Sir William Goode, Member of the Supreme Economic Council," Sep. 3, 1919, quoted by Norman Angell in his—"Peace Treaty and Economic Chaos of Europe."

[2] This was written before the Dawes plan has been accepted. Under this Scheme, America and the Allied powers have agreed to grant gold mark loan of 3,000,000 to Germany for reorganisation purposes. The apportionment of this loan is as follows' United States of America Dollars 100,000,000, Britain £11,000,000, France, Holland and Switzerland £3,000,000 each, Germany £1,000,000, Belgium, Sweden and Italy £1,500,000. The loan is at 7% rate of interest and is to be repaid at the end of 25 years.

Europe "to stew in her own juice." "Blatant militarism, bellicose spirit, armaments, international amorality and race hatred" are the order of the day. Even the arch-imperialist Lord Cromer has said, "That something in the nature of a general disarmament should take place after the war is not merely desirable, it is absolutely necessary in order to permit of the financial recuperation of the world."[1] But nothing substantial in this matter has been done so far.[2] The nations have not realised that "militarism is irrelevant to the promotion of their moral and material aims."[3] As Keynes says, a widespread diffusion of this truth the unveiling of this illusion as regards military pomp and power and the enlargement and instruction of men's hearts must proceed further before any real check to the economic retrogression of these countries can be effectively stopped.

The novelist Dickinson puts it forcibly in the following language : "abolish armaments, and you abolish fear, abolish fear and you abolish suspicion, abolish suspicion and you abolish secrecy, abolish secrecy and you have popular control, grant popular control and the peoples' will to peace becomes effective."[4] One pessimist who feels dissatisfied with the present militaristic state of the nations prophesies that so long as armies are maintained and the policy of economic imperialism is pursued by the European nations, a time would come when they would no longer be able to pay the price of this imperialistic policy. "The centre of civilisation would then shift to the Pacific—Japan, America, Australia and China."[5] The fifth Assembly of the League of Nations has recently decided to reduce the armaments maintained by the nations. As yet only eleven nations have signed the Disarmament Security Protocol. If the balancing of budgets can be done as a result of the reduction of military expenditure, the creation of "Phantom money" by the printing press would be rendered unnecessary. The maintenance of an effective gold standard can then be effectively dealt with. Production would go on in the pre-war manner as internal prices would be stable and if these favourable conditions are established the foreign exchanges would right themselves. As M. Witte, the Rusian Minister of Finance says, "a regulation of exchange is not something which is established, it establishes itself, otherwise it is incapable of establishment."[1] Hence it is the cardinal duty of the finance ministers to establish favourable conditions under which exchanges control themselves.

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[1] Lord Cromer," Nineteenth Century," July 1916, p. 31.

[2] More than 20% of the budget expenses of the European countries is devoted to armaments and military operations.

[3] *Vide* Norman Angell." Foundations of International Policy." p. xx.

[4] G. L Dickinson "The Choice before Us," p. 166.

[5] History gives ample testimony to this view. The centre of civilisation shifted from the Mediterranean Sea, to the Baltic and from the Baltic to the Atlantic and it may be that it moves to the Pacific,

The war has brought into full force the real meaning of money and its influence on the well-being of the community. Money represents labour, goods, properties or possessions and it can assume any shape decided for it by its owners. Properly used it can confer much good upon the community by creating opportunities for the working classes to get employment. The extension of cities, improvements in the means of communication, the starting of commercial and industrial enterprises have been primarily due to the influence of money accumulated in the hands of banks. As A. Del Mar says, "Money is a mighty engine which unheard, unfelt, almost unseen, has the power to so distribute the burdens, qualifications, and opportunities of life that each individual shall enjoy that share of them to which his merits entitle him or to dispense them with so partial a hand as to violate every principle of justice and perpetuate a succession of social slaveries to the end of time."[2] But as Prof. Ross in his "Theories of Social Progress" says, "the characteristic anonymity of money might serve equally well the fool and the wise man, Belial and the saint." If money is misused, labour unrest, and undesirable agitation inevitably follows its footsteps. Macaulay, speaking of the dangers of a mistaken monetary policy, says, "it may be doubted whether all the misery which has been inflicted on the English nation in a quarter of a century by bad kings, bad parliaments, and bad judges was equal to the misery caused in a single year by bad crowns, and bad shillings." In our present-day the suffering of the Russian peasantry due to the Bolshevik destruction of the currency system is far more acute than all the suffering inflicted on them by the tyranny of the several Czars of Russia. The creation of "Phantom war money" led to many undesirable effects as seen in the case of Germany.

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[1] Quoted from A. W. Flux, "The Foreign Exchanges," the last chapter.

[2] *Vide* A. Del Mar, "History of Money," p. 345.

It first produces a rise in prices and with every expectation of further creation of this money people are forced to spend everything they possess lest its value might diminish. "Savings become a hopeless and non-paying business." If put out at interest it is sure to lose in value and even loaning at 100% would not protect the saver as the sum received at the end of the stipulated period would not possess the same purchasing power as in the case of his original sum lent out by him. This leads to riotous living and spendthrift expenditure which is sometimes mistaken for real prosperity. This constant rise in prices makes it possible not only for businessmen to borrow money from the banks but all speculators begin to realise that this borrowing would be a cheap means of feathering their own nest. For example, with a loan contracted, say payable after a month, a speculator buys a motor car and later on this can be sold for 4 to 8 times the original price paid for it. Hence the rush on banks for loans to realise such profits. In August 1923, the five Great Banks of Germany were lending at 2% per day or over 700% per annum on bank loans. This was in a country where "a 8% bank rate was considered as the rate of the usurer."

Another curious phenomenon noticeable in all countries afflicted with the "phantom war money" was the attempt to sell the goods in foreign money. In Poland and the eastern European countries goods were sold in terms of American dollars or English pounds, currencies whose existence they were probably unaware of. The bargain was struck in dollars and pounds. Then the dollar or sterling exchange of the day was ascertained. The amount payable was fixed and paid in the country's own currency. As the magnitude of these transactions began to increase the government had to declare them illegal and had to ultimately stop such transactions. This should not be mistaken for the movement known as the "flight of capital."[1] The enactment of heavy taxation on property and incomes as in Germany initiated this movement known as the flight of capital. Bonds and securities were sold even at a sacrifice and the proceeds were converted into foreign currency.

(*To be continued*)

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

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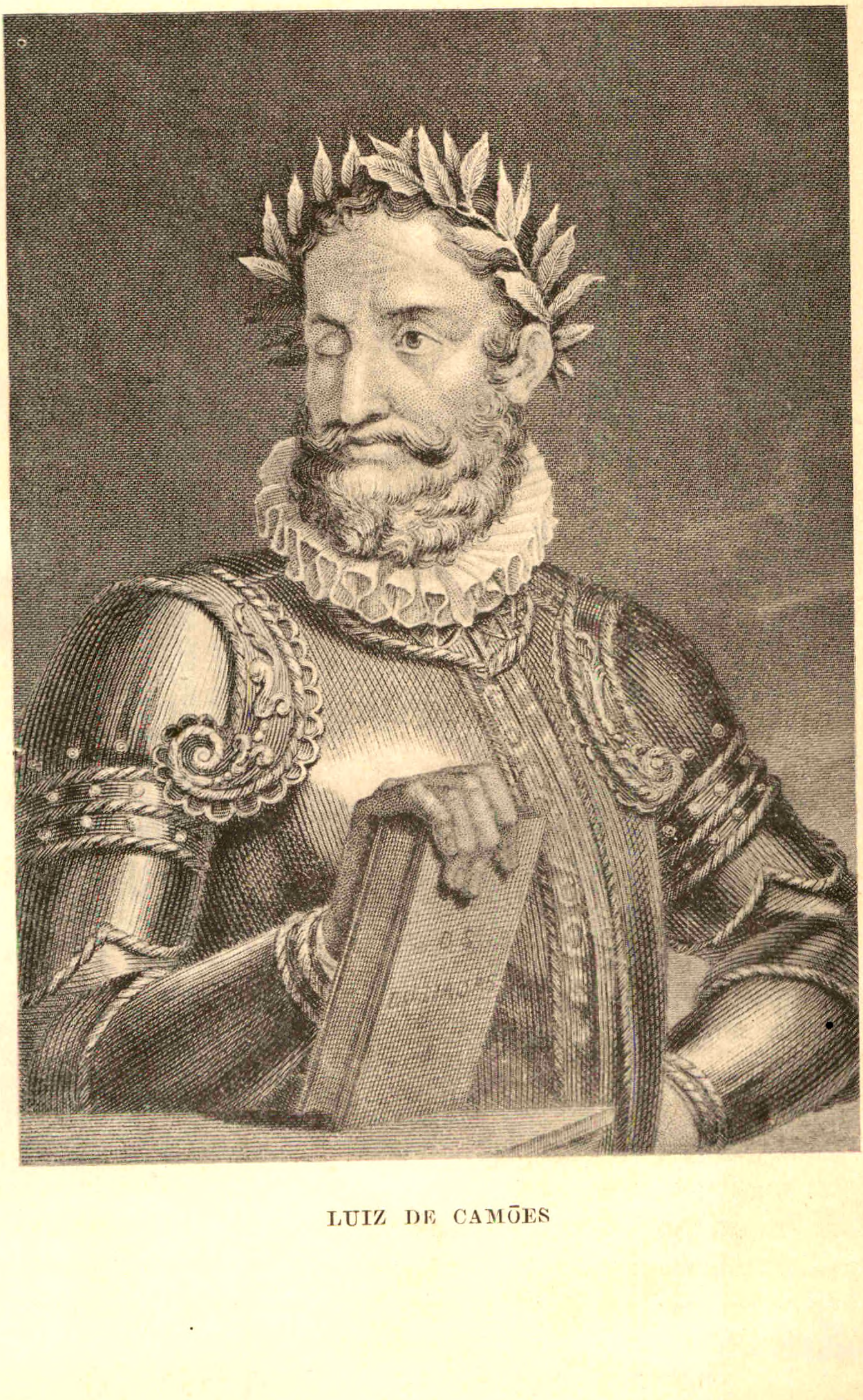
[1] About "35 billion marks" escaped "into Switzerland from the date of the Armistice to the middle of 1919." The sole object was to evade the heavy taxation levied in Germany. This sale of marks and purchase of foreign currency disorganised the already chaotic state of exchanges in Germany. It still further depressed the exchange value of the mark, *Vide* Dr. Friedman, "International Finance and its Reorganisation," p. 164.

CAMOES AND HIS *OS LUSIADAS*

The centenary celebration of Camoes comes off in December. It will be a great day for the intellectual people of Portugal. They will gather in the academic halls of their renowned Universities, hoary with age and mellowed with wisdom, to pay a befitting tribute of homage to the memory of one of the greatest epic poets of the modern world. It is, therefore, meet and proper that Bengal, one of the richest mines of poetry and romance, and a devoted votary in the world-temple of culture, should rise to the occasion and send her meed of appreciation of Camoes, the poetic genius of Portugal, who created a language to depict his thoughts.

"*Le génie, quelle que soit sa force innée, ne crée pas à lui tout seul la langue dont il a besoin pour se révéler.*" This is what a great man of France says. But it does not hold good in respect of Camoes. He did create the needful language to reveal itself. His language is stately, graceful and sonorous. There are other Portuguese poets and writers of great merit who have soared high into the empyrean of thought, or have dived deep into the recondite mystery of life. But none has ever invested his thoughts with greater breadth of light and shade—with greater wealth of imagination;—none has clothed in unforgettable verse the intensest feelings of a soul.

Camoes was born in Lisbon in the year 1524, during the reign of Don John III of Portugal. He is the illuminating genius of the Portugal of glory and greatness, of the Portugal of love and beauty, of fame and renown, of the Portugal of deed and daring. He is the most sublime figure in the history of Portuguese literature in the luminous pages of which, his *Os Lusiadas*, one of the soul-elevating epics of the world, will shine with a steady, unflickering



LUIZ DE CAMÕES

light to "the last syllable of recorded time." But when he lived and moved and had his being in his own land, he was not much cared for. A wretched exile during a large part of his life-time, he like Dante enjoyed an abundance of fame after his death. He loved Portugal and poured forth the opulence of his voice to sing its glory and breathed his last in the agony and excruciation of utter penury.

"*Cessem do sabio Grego e do Troiano,*
As navegaçœs grandes que fizeram;
Calle—se de Alexandro e de Trajano
A fama das victorias que tiveram;
Que eu canto o peito illustre Lusitano
A quem Neptuno e Marte obedeceram:
Cesse tudo o que a Musa antiga canta,
Que outro valor mais alto se alevanta."

Who could sing so sweetly in Portugal?

Camoes comes of a noble family, originally Gallician; and his ancestor came to Portugal in 1370. His first misfortune happened when he was a boy, his father having died while in command of a vessel as a result of shipwreck at Goa. He was then sent by his mother to the University of Coimbra for education, where his uncle Bento de Camoes was Chancellor for several years. The romantic *entourage* of this great seat of learning produced a stupendous influence on the impressionable mind of the youth. Here Camoes spent the happiest hours of his life and imbibed a profound taste for the Classics which supplied flesh and blood to his great epic. Here, in the tranquil grove of culture, beneath the luxuriant foliage of romance, Camoes nourished and expanded his poetic imagination. So all his life, he was full of the mellow beams of refinement—so all his life, his heart throbbed with a delicate sentiment of love.

In 1545 he left his University and came to Lisbon and was received at court, where his noble birth and education afforded him a favourable opportunity to make his mark. But his engaging manners and love for the fair sex ere long led him into trouble. He had consequently to leave the royal precincts and retire to the cold regions of Santarem on the banks of Tagus. Here the magic loom of his pen wove a few verses of the magnificent epic which was shaped into being partly in Europe and partly in Asia amidst various circumstances. As the indolent languor of life was too much for him, he looked for something which would respond to his natural alacrity and enthusiasm. He at once joined an expedition against the Moors in Africa. For two or three years he fought in the campaign and then lost one of his eyes. Back once again in Lisbon, he found himself utterly neglected; and in despair and despondency, he began to lead a disorderly life. He then came to India where he lived for a long time. He was very much impressed by the noble river, *O illustre Ganges*, and embalmed his impression in these immortal lines:

> "*Eu sou o illustre Ganges que na terra*
> *Celeste tenho o berço verdadeiro* ;
> *Est' outro é o Indo, rei que nesta serra,*
> *Que vês, seu nacimento tem primeiro.*"

After an absence of about sixteen years he went back to his country. But she was cold to him. It pained him much as the very fibres of his soul pulsated with the warmth of love for her. He was an unfortunate man. He was always in the midst of the most gruesome storms of life, and his to-morrow was never tinted with the rainbow of hope and happiness. His last gloomy years were spent near his aged mother. He died heart-broken at the misfortune that had befallen his country as a result of the greatest disaster of Alcancer-kebir.

Os Lusiadas.

Adopting a metrical form, the octave, and modelling his epic style on that of Virgil, Camoes has set up as his hero the whole Lusitania people. Hence the title *Os Lusiadas.* His purpose is a serious one. From beginning to end the sublime epic is aglow with a patriotic fervour that is superb and soul-stirring.

"*As armas e os Barœs assinalados,*
Que da occidental praia Lusitana
Por mares nunca de antes navegados
Passaram ainda alem da Taprobana,
E em perigos e guerras esforçados
Mais do que prometia a força humana,
Entre gente remota edificaram
Novo reino, que tanto sublimaram."

These lines are chiselled to perfection. The poet has chosen simple words to delineate aptly the thoughts that have struggled for expression.

This monumental epic is remarkable for clarity and elegance, for a graceful simplicity, an easy strength: it is cast in the fine mould of perfect manners—majestic without pretension, expressive without emphasis, simple without carelessness and subtle without preciosity and affectation. These are the dominating qualities in his style which move the very chords in the depths of the soul and emparadise the mind in ethereal light. In the literature of Portugal Camoes occupies the same position as Racine and Corneille in that of France, as Dante in that of Italy, as Shakespeare and Milton in that of England, and Tagore in that of Bengal. His glory is more than national—it is universal. Gathering within the vast compass of his genius the most subtle and profound characteristics of his race, he has transcended the narrow limits of place and language and tradition and soared into a large dominion over the hearts of the lovers of world-literatures. As the exponent of patriotic pride in national greatness and as the most perfect master of Portuguese poetic style and diction, he will ever command the willing homage and admiration not only of his countrymen but of all who love what is best in a nation.

R. C. MAULIK

PEASANT PROPRIETORSHIP IN INDIA[1]

(*A Review*)

India's problems are many and varied. Most of them deserve anxious and laborious thought. With the time just dawning when Indians will have to take the responsibility of solving the problems themselves it is re-assuring to find that a retired Government official should utilize the period of well-earned leisure in discussing one of the most important of such problems.

Prof. Dutta has discussed what were held to be the rights of cultivators by Manu and others, that is, the real nature of "rent." He holds that Lord Cornwallis's Permanent Settlement was a mistake, and he wrongly recognized as proprietors whom Prof. Dutta calls "a class of profiteering middlemen, who had no interest whatever in food production or in the protection of husbandmen's crops, adventurous revenue contractors eager to exploit the agricultural classes of the country whom his Lordship gratuitously styled 'the actual proprietors of land' without adducing any proof whatever. To these interlopers, his Lordship transferred the rights of the ruling power to a certain proportion of the produce ignoring altogether their corresponding duties." The author maintains that as a result of this policy the *raiyat* who in his own feeble way "toils from morning to noon, from noon to dewy eve, without the aid of wealth or science" has been treated as no better than King Lear's daughter and suffers from starvation and malnutrition to-day (page 136). The author, in view of all these, concludes that the Permanent Settlement should be scrapped, and the peasants should be given the absolute right of property to hold the land without rent: but the process to bring this about has not been made clear for the reasonings are unfortunately obscure.

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[1] Peasant Proprietorship in India, by Mr. Dwijadas Datta.

We are afraid that while the historical aspect of the question has been dealt with laboriously, the constructive aspect which is of vital importance to-day and for the future has been left in a haze. The importance of the right of the cultivators specially in the primitive stages of agriculture and of society was recognized practically in all countries. This is natural and inevitable. When land is plentiful and cultivators few, the cultivator secures right through the sheer force of circumstances in his favour. This certainly is what justice demands as well. But when the quest is not of land for tenants but of tenants for land, conditions alter. Right in land becomes a valuable, inter-changeable property. It seeks the highest market and occasionally gets into non-cultivator's hands. The land is let out to cultivators on competitive or economic rent, the actual tiller is in a position of subordination, and the benefit of his tillage in the main goes to his superior, who, though a successor of possibly an original tiller, is himself now a mere middleman. A wide network of legislative restrictions enforceable by State will be here a remedy worse than the disease.

For the property to develop into that state when it has value various classes of people with conflicting interests must work. Peaceful enjoyment must have to be secured, rightful appropriation of the fruits of labour must have to be conserved (however imperfectly), and the proper price for these fruits made available. The State, the large area-holder (call it middleman, revenue-contractor or by any other name) contributes to the attainment of the position. The legislature must take all rights into consideration. India is an agricultural country and was more so in the past. Naturally a State, charged with the responsibility of securing some modicum of administrative efficiency, had to rely on this source for its income to meet these charges. The quotations that the author had made, prove that the share of the produce was regularly realized in the past by the kings whether Hindu or Mahomedan. Call it by any name that you choose 'rent,' 'tax,' or 'contribution fonciere,' but we must admit that contribution from the cultivators was the mainstay of Government. The detailed process by which this levy was systematised, lands classified, and rates fixed (Todar Mall's Assessment) proves that this source was anxiously exploited by the kings or the Government of the time. When the British people came this system so carefully laid down by Todar Mall had fallen into decay. Personal rule with its attendant advantages and disadvantages held sway. Portion of the cultivator's produce had to be collected—perfectly in accord with the ancient systems—and the problem was to set up the best method of collecting the due share of the produce. Various methods were tried but none of them proved successful. The country had been divided up in units before—Pergannas and Mahals were not British creations—agents did exist who were responsible for collecting the share from the cultivators, but the methods, systems, the amounts and the conditions were not discernible. Various experiments were attempted and none proved efficacious. The Permanent Settlement was the final result. Whether the Permanent Settlement as a fiscal policy was right or wrong, this is not the place to discuss. Whether a long period settlement would not have secured a system so much desired at the time yet protected the right of the State to an increased share in land values brought about by the exertions of agencies other than the landlord's and would have been sound, is not the point at issue here. Whether the Permanent Settlement was a useful administrative measure of urgency at the time it is not necessary to debate on. But surely to ascribe the measure to the "partiality natural to an English Peer" perhaps a distant successor of those Norman Barons for whom William the Conqueror "confiscated the lands of the English people" is to misread history and ignore facts. We are all more or less wedded to the ideas about us and Lord Cornwallis might have been, or was, to his. The English land "system" might have prejudiced him to the extent of leaving unduly the determination of the rights of the tenants to the landlords. But certainly the landlords of the time were not intended to be treated with partiality. The break up of the estates immediately after the Permanent Settlement, the ruin of most of the ancient landlord families of the time, the creation of Patni system, the records of the application of the "sunset" laws up to the beginning of the twentieth century contradict the contention that the landlords were "partially treated in the matter of revenue demand." To dub down all the persons who entered into Permanent Settlement as "adventurous revenue contractors" is similarly not correct. In his Minutes of the 2nd April, 1788, and the 15th June, 1789, Mr. Shore pointed out "that the origin of the proprietary and hereditary rights of the Zemindars in Bengal was uncertain and that at Akbar's time the Zemindars were numerous, rich and powerful, that they were not of his creation but *probably existed with some possible variation in their rights and privileges before the Mahomedan Conquest in Hindustan* and without any formal acknowledgment acquired *stability by prescription.*"

Prof. Dutta will find, therefore, that there is another side to the shield and though it is perfectly possible or even may be admitted as a fact that some who were found in possession towards the end of the eighteenth century answered the description given by him, to place all under one class is historically untrue. Apart from the question of their right prior to 1793 one surely cannot ignore their right which has grown since that year. It is not merely the Zemindars who are concerned but the whole chain of tenure and under-tenure holders intervening between the Zemindars and the cultivators who must have their claims to a right of property determined—it is acknowledged to-day—and appraised. The specific reference to tenure and under-tenures in the Decennial and Permanent Settlement regulations supports their claims as ancient and well recognized prior to the advent of the British rule.

Prof. Dutta has given no idea as to how he proposes to deal with these claims. If he wishes them to be expropriated the question at once arises of their compensation. If they are to be compensated the figure will run to many millions. With budgets clearly incapable of meeting the existing demands the provision of a huge sum will, unless Prof. Dutta can show the way out, be entirely out of the question. If he wants to expropriate without compensation well then it is a proposal for spoliation and an attack on rights of private property compared with which capital levy is a flea-bite. I think no discussion of such a proposal is possible. We are sure that the author does not contemplate anything like that which Stein and Hardenberg proposed and effected in Prussia in the settlement of rights of nobles and serfs in the land there. The grades of sub-infeudation, the position of the parties, the social and other conditions indicate that allocation of land in absolute property according to their respective rights will not be a practicable scheme here. At the very outset it will mean dislodging of numerous tenants who as cultivators are in physical possession of the land. They have acquired property according to law established in the land, in many cases according to the ancient custom of the country. Are they to be turned out by a mere fiat? India is struggling for justice, surely it cannot develop a polity based on denial of justice.

Prof. Dutta's idea of India abjuring land revenue on the analogy that America has done leaves us somewhat nonplussed. If Prof. Dutta had taken pains to look up the American budget with its systems of taxation, its sources of national income and compared them with those in India he would at once have realized how puerile was the cheap assertion. As elsewhere the author's syllogism is incomplete. He does not help us with any detailed scheme. Is a universal income-tax to be substituted?—Is Prof. Dutta one of the uni-taxers? Does he suggest that India with millions of its population illiterate, untrained in the art of defence against exploiters—should be handed over to the mercies of thousands of under-paid assessors of taxes who will spin out their items of income, make short shrift with their legitimate items of expenditure and then evolve a figure either to the dismay of the State or the chagrin of the less artful of the people? Prof. Dutta does not say what will happen in the meantime. If we take the Province of Bengal we find that Land Revenue represents about 30 per cent. of the total income or yields 3 crores in the total revenue of about 10 crores. We all wish for the moon at a certain stage of our existence. We cease to do it with growing sense of the impracticability of realizing that ambition. It is hoped that Prof. Dutta will realize that the idea is not so simple as he seems to have supposed.

As to Prof. Dutta's contention that the assessment of rent in Permanently Settled areas has been the cause of the ryot's ruin, it is, we are afraid, as far from truth as his view that the ryots should hold land free and without rent specially in India with sources of revenue for the State so limited, is from the accepted canons of economists.

The steady increase in the price of rice and the fact that rent is ordinarily paid in cash have continuously lightened the burden of the cultivators. It was calculated in 1906 that in Bengal the rent represented about 11 per cent. of the gross produce; in 1914 it was calculated to represent only 6 per cent. —i.e., considerably lower than was ever realized even under the Hindu Kings. The price has gone on increasing since 1914 with steady diminution in the ratio. It is true that the Bengal Tenancy Act provides for an increase on account of rise in prices. It is the common experience of civil courts that enhancement suits—except in limited areas—are rare. In settlement proceedings suits are filed under Sec. 105, Bengal Tenancy Act, but free use is made of the provision which restricts under enhancement (Sec. 35) and any one familiar with the proceedings knows that the cases are largely compromised on terms which the tenants consider as fair.

The author will remember that the Permanent Settlement instead of being the cause of impoverishment had been held to have just the reverse effect. So much so that late Mr. R. C. Dutta and others of wide experience of the Land System and truly imbued with the spirit of justice and patriotism asked for its extension to the rest of India.

Prof. Dutta's suggestion for abolition of rent or tax on land is in direct conflict with the view held by modern economists. As a member of the Opposition during the debate on the third reading of the Finance Bill of 1923 speaking for the Labour Party, Mr. Snowden—the Chancellor of Exchequer in the Labour Government—expressed that view thus:

"We hold the position that the whole economic value of land belongs to the community and that no individual has the right to appropriate and enjoy what belongs to the community as a whole. Let there be no mistake about it. When the Labour Government does sit upon those benches it will not deserve to have a second term of office unless in the most determined manner it tries to secure *social wealth for social purposes.*" This is an intelligible attitude and though it may brace up anti-Permanent Settlement advocates is as far from the contention of Prof. Dutta as the north is from the south pole.

Prof. Dutta has unwittingly done himself harm by repeating the exploded doctrine that the ryot "toils from morn to noon, from noon to dewy eve." The position is the other way, and the problem is deeper than Prof. Dutta appears to have realized. Most of the land in the Permanent Settled area is one-cropped. That crop is paddy. It can hardly provide him with employment during the year of a total period of three months on a liberal estimate. Surely the problem is not to reduce his labour but to get for him something to labour for. The cause of misery is not over employment but want of employment. Prof. Dutta appears to be handicapped by the fact that he has had no experience of the realities of the situation.

We have one other comment to make in this brief review. We should have very much liked to see Prof. Dutta adopt a more dignified language. The reference to congress leaders as "the eggs of Zamindars and Talukdars in the hatchery," to lawyers "as gangs which freely rove about the country for booty" to Zemindars as "huge leviathans" who have to be lifted up "morally and physiologically" from "that sensuality in which a few of them sometimes roll" may look heroic in the eyes of some but hardly add to, if not very much detract from, the dignity of the work. Distemper is not the surest proof of wisdom nor abuse the most convincing argument.

While we have criticized and recorded what we consider to be the defects of the book we certainly very much appreciate the author's motive and are entirely at one with him in the matter. If the rural life has to be resurrected the land-system of the country will have to undergo certain radical reforms though that will not be the only means to bring about a revival. The right of the cultivating ryot will have to be perfected, the evils that exist through the absenteeism of landlords will have to be cured, and the grasping of the greedy will have to be ruthlessly put down. We agree with him that the Tenancy Act Amendment Committee's report fell much short of expectation and is not a document on which anybody can be congratulated. We, however, believe that India of to-morrow must have 'justice' for its motto, justice to all and not merely to a section, a class or a community. It must constantly attempt at harmonizing conflicting interests, and not stir up fresh class or communal war. It must build a polity on mutual good-will and all considerations must be subordinated to one dominant purpose of national regeneration and progress. But every one should realize that though faith must be kept undimmed, and work must be ceaseless and resolute it is more by persuasion and conviction and never by bitterness and unnecessary class conflict that we can reach the New Heaven and make the New Earth.

The idea Prof. Dutta puts forward is not original. We are aware of "Peasantism" as a political crusade adopted in Eastern Europe. We have seen the manifesto of the Croatian Peasant Party which aims at the realisation of the idea of Peasant Pacifist Republic. We know its declaration that "*the most obvious postulate of justice is that every body shall enjoy the fruits of his or her work*." We are aware that the Rumanian Peasant Party demands that the land should be expropriated without compensation and "handed over to the peasants, to those who work it." We know that the chief organ of the Croatian Party "Slobdini Dom" urges that "the State must be built on a basis which would make the peasant owner of the soil and the worker owner of the factory." But we must think over the circumstances as prevail in this country and evolve what should be considered best suited to the present situation. It will be a folly to go by catchphrases of other people or to look to the country and its future with one eye closed.

The book, it is hoped, will be widely read specially by the die-hard group of the landlord party. It is necessary for the extremes of each party to realize that denial of justice evokes its inevitable reaction. It is for the disinterested patriot to harmonize the extremes and direct his energies to onward progress. The problem is how to build the future but for it one need not be wholly lost in digging the past.

B. M.

A RATIONALISTIC VIEW OF POESY

IV

UNION OF POETRY AND PHILOSOPHY.

The Hindus made an ambitious attempt to unite Poetry to Philosophy, to join in wedlock, the charm of the Puranas to the stern truths of the Vedas. They aspired to prove that the Puranas were built out of a rib of the Vedas, and like Eve and Adam, wedded to the latter in the natural order of events, without wooing or the intervention of a clergyman. The Vedas with their crude animistic origin had slowly perfected themselves into a "paragon" of absolutism in the Philosophy of the Vedanta—too sublime for the emotional, uninstructed, nature of the average man, craving for the zest of life in the practical world of matter and of social activity. The majority of the people were losing the binding force of religion, divested of the fear of God, and were acquiring no compensatory social virtues, while the cultured minority, it was believed, were living in an arid atmosphere of ratiocination and contemplativeness, destitute of the enthusiastic propulsion of the emotions. The brain was divorced from the heart, culture from social co-operation, wisdom from statesmanship, the head from the hands, threatening social dissolution by the internal force of indifference on the one hand, and the disruptive forces generated in the mass mind by the lack of a guiding external power on the other, while the expectation of barbaric aggressiveness founded upon the historic experience of the Greek invasion under Alexander and his successors, and upon statesmanlike anticipations, created by the tumult and uproar set to work by a new religious upheaval in Arabia, which was already thundering beyond the frontiers of India, held out forebodings of an ominous character.

How Hinduism turned from philosophy to poetry, from the play of the intelligence to that of the imagination, from truth to Love and Beauty, from Jnan to Bhakti, is not definitely known. It is certain, however, that a mere jump did not take the Hindu from the one bank of the gulf to the other. The influence of Buddhism intervening for a thousand years had probably facilitated the transition, by setting up cross-currents of thought in the religious and moral atmosphere, for, though the ultimate ideal of Nirvana was the same in both, the scheme of life was different. It is said the Vedanta had created an interminable drought, in which the emotions generally, and those of Love and Hate in particular, were withering towards the vanishing point, rendering the principle of activism or Karma a thing of growing unconcern. Buddhism had, by laying an absorbing emphasis on that principle, given a new turn to the mentality of the people. But Buddhism had no God to worship, and made no provision for the authoritative regulation of the type of activism inculcated by its founder. The principle of benevolence and beneficence, standing by its own unaided power is susceptible to degeneration, and even social corruption. Vaisnavism found a God, to guide human conduct in the direction of Buddhistic beneficence; and to keep this God erect and alive in the hearts of men, it invented the principle of Bhakti or love of God, as contrasted with the old animistic fear of God, still powerful in the heart of the uninstructed half-Hinduised masses. This principle of love was derived from the natural and intuitive love of the parent for the child, of the brother for the brother, and from sexual love, which is guided and enlivened by a strong principle of reciprocity. Man loved God, because he was told that God loved him, and God loved man because man loved Him. This principle of natural reciprocity had an intensive effect on love, and ordinary human love became sublimated into Bhakti. But there was a rift in the lute. Sexual love on which Bhakti is mainly founded, has limitations which if unheeded, causes it to lapse into lecherousness. The new religion of love quickly spread among the uneducated, unreflecting masses. The heart triumphed at the cost of the head, and the previous drought was followed by a flood of soft sexual excesses. Vaisnavism, however, left the *intelligentsia* all but untouched.

The higher castes of Brahmins and Kshattriyas were in need, by the principle of national self-preservation, not so much of a religion of Love as one of Hate. They were more apprehensive of external aggression than of internal stagnation or disruption. It thus happened that while the Vaisyas and Sudras adopted the religion of love, the Kshattriyas embraced the religion of power. The Brahmins were divided between the two; between the religion of Love and dependence, and the religion of Hate and self-assertion. The Srimad Bhagavat was the gospel of the former, the Chandi, that of the latter. Both are poems of the highest merit. The first is filled with Adirasha, and the last with Rudrarasha. The Vaisnab was to love his neighbour as himself, and thereby keep society bound by the bond of co-operation. The Sakta was to hate the foreigner that might venture across the Khyber pass. The division was statesmanlike, having regard to the sacrosanct nature of the caste system. But the caste-system was a cancer in the body politic, and soon brought the nation into grief. The small Sakta section failed to turn the tide of foreign aggression, while the masses having looked on the foreigner with momentary amazement turned back to Love and Bhakti, to detachment, devitalization and demoralization. Their social position remained unchanged by foreign domination. The caste-system separated the classes from the masses. The bifurcation was accentuated by the new religious division of society into Saktas and Vaisnabs. The misery of foreign domination was keenly felt by the former; it was unheeded by the latter.

The Srimad Bhagavat, in some respects the best poem in the world, attached the majority of the population to a loving

God, while the Chandi attached the intelligent and educated minority to a fighting goddess, teaching hatred of all that is alien, ignoble and feminine, and preparing the people for war against invaders. Vaisnavism, however, was not devoid of capillarity, and the higher castes did not altogether escape its influence during the interval of peace that preceded the actual aggressions of the religious fanatics of Arabia and the surrounding countries, where the doctrines of Islam had found a congenial soil, and spread with the speed of lightning. Islam allowed India about four hundred years to meet its onset, but the influence of poetry with the conflicting claims of *adirasha* and *rudrarasha* had kept her in a state of indecision, in which the dangers of the gathering cloud of external aggression were seriously obscured. Mahmud of Ghazni paid iconoclastic visits both to Mathura and Somnath, the respective headquarters of the God of Love and preservation, and of the God of Hate and destruction, without experiencing any serious difficulty on the way. Better preparations to resist foreign invasion were subsequently made in spite of the enervating influence of Vaisnavism on military life, and Mahomed of Ghore though ultimately successful did not find his adventures free from difficulties and dangers.

It is worthy of note that in judging of the military weakness of the first defenders of India against Islamic invasions historians do not take into account the disadvantage caused by religious duality, under which they laboured : they do not take into account the parts played or omitted by Vaisnavism and Saktaism, as mutually antagonising forces working within the state or the body politic, preventing cordial co-operation among the people. They take Hinduism as an organised, harmonious, homogeneous, unified whole so far as religious ideas are concerned. They blame the caste system for the defeat of the Hindus, and for he disunion which led to that melancholy result. They fail to realise the synthetic aspect of the caste system, which, representing the social organism with its mutually dependent and mutually help organs, work and will under ordinary circumstances, *i.e.*, wh the dividing influence of religion is absent. The Kshattri are the fighting caste. The Vaisyas and Sudras help them war with munitions and camp followers. The spread Vaisnavism among the trading, industrial and agricultu and servile castes had materially weakened the Kshattri indirectly. The Kshattriyas themselves did not escape subtle influence of Vaisnavic doctrines, which inclined men crave for the enjoyments of the life of peace, and disincl them to the tumultuous life of war. The concept of G in the monotheistic invaders conferred on them a decid advantage in that their God was the infinite, primord everlasting source and fountain of both Hate and Love, wh could manifest themselves synchronously though at differ points in space. Love for the Musalman was as strong hatred for the Kaffir. But the Hindu's God either loved hated, and was incapable of hating and loving at the sa time. The Vaisnab only loved ; and while he loved the Sal Kshattriya he was bound to love the followers of the Propl also. In the war between the Sakta and the Musalman t Vaisnav remained indifferent. At least he did not help t Sakta with any degree of cordiality or enthusiasm.

On the whole the poetry of rudra rasha though stimulati is powerfully attractive than the poetry of adirasha. Besic those who adopted the Chandi as their gospel still carried their blood the subtle influence of the Vedantic detachme transmitted by their forbears through many generations ; f the Vedanta was habitually handled by the higher castes onl and had more thoroughly soaked into the mental structure the latter. Buddhism, it is well-known, was replaced by t idolatry of Hinduism. Many regard it as a triumph for t latter. But the truth is that Buddhism was not forcibly e pelled from the country by dialectic or military power, b turned into Vaisnavism by slow evolution—It had already l own corrosive tendency degenerated into idolatry, and imately became merged in Vaisnavism. Saktaism takes dit for expelling Buddhism out of India. But the Buddhists re not converted to Saktaism; they simply changed the me of Buddhism into Vaisnavism, without undergoing any ious doctrinal innovation. Buddha afterwards stood as an arnation—the tenth in the series of avatars.

The baneful effect of the poetry of adirasha on the stinies of India are well known. The old military instincts d worldly glories were killed by the philosophy of the danta. The new military instincts and the desire to save dia from foreign invasion were substantially weakened by poetry of the Srimad Bhagavat and its amiable creature isnavism, which far from taking any part in the efforts for litical freedom, consolidated itself during the long course Pathan rule, and reached its climax in the propaganda work Mahaprabhu Srigouranga. A number of poets by popularis- the ideas of the Srimad Bhagavat had prepared the way for latter. I make these comments in no irreverent spirit, t it seems that the religious movement of the Prophet of dia was a desperate effort to drown the pangs of political fering and national degradation in the deep illimitable an of spiritual consolation. Christ had done the same ages . But Christ came in the old age of the Roman Empire, ile Chaitanya preached in the bumping youth of the Islamic wer. In the name of universal love the teachings of Christ to the establishment of a continental military brotherhood Europe to guard its eastern frontier against the encroach- nts of the followers of the Prophet. In the name of the ne universal love the preachings of Chaitanya, by utterly ishing the military spirit of the people, confirmed and bilized the domination of the followers of the Prophet India, more particularly in Bengal, which acquired a re- tation for cowardice lasting for centuries. In the name of ect spiritual realization Vaisnavism, far from raising man ards the deity has dragged the latter to the level of ı.

Instead of teaching man to search for truth it taught to seek for beauty—unreal, imaginary, transient beauty—h exhilarates and inebriates, but does not elevate the . Poetry is, as a rule, demoralizing, but the influence of poetry of *adirasha* is more pernicious than that of the ry of *rudrarasha*. Both *rashas* weighed against reason, ain undesirable elements, but the first is infinitely more ful than the last. The influence of *rudrarasha* soaking unpoetic sordidness is now threatening Western civiliza- The influence of *adirasha* has left Indian civilization ı irretrievably dilapidated condition. Thus one type of ry has deceived India; another type is threatening Europe ıy; militarism and industrialism make a poisonous blend. The influence of poetry on mankind is visible all the d over. Homer kept Hellas bound to barbarism, to the and tiger' qualities of anthropologic times, to the cosmic ıimal aspect of human nature, for a thousand years. The ence of the Srimad Bhagavat and of Vaisnab poetry has India bound to an amorous God, and to alien domination ı longer period. Western civilization has thriven by ng out the Muses from Parnassus, and by pursuing the ties of life in a whole-hearted fashion. It has no soul affected by mere sentiment. Its philosophy rests on the ine of self-assertion—euphemistically described as self- rvation. Its aim is ascendancy, and its method consists mixture of militarism and industrialism. Utility and not ty is its watchword. The Muses, unable to bear the h of the former, have left their home and are now flying t outside the pale of civilization. This is how India has tly been able to obtain the Nobel prize of Sweden. H. G. s in his famous book, "The Salvaging of Civilization" no place for poetry in his "Bible," and he specifically ıdes Shakespeare and Milton, Homer and Virgil, Dante and Goethe. The higher morality of the coming age, preaching co-operation without love, and competition without hate, decidedly tends to leave the enchantment of poetry behind in its new course of regeneration.

The life of Krishna, as the greatest incarnation of God, sometimes distinguished as the descent of God in person, is an interesting study. He appeared first as a man of action and then as a man of reflection. He came as a hero and manifested his heroic deeds among uninstructed simple folk in the dairy farm at Gokul. His achievements are dwelt upon in the poetry of the Srimad Bhagavat. He next appeared as a thinker and preacher, and his achievements under this aspect are given in the Bhagavadgita, divine songs sung among the most advanced people in India. It almost seems as if there were two incarnations, *viz.*, one for the benefit of the lower castes of Vaisyas and Sudras, and the other for the benefit of the higher castes of Brahmins and Kshattriyas. To this idea of the division of the divine life the Hindus still adhere. The Srimad Bhagavat is the gospel or guiding light of the lower castes, while the Bhagavadgita is cherished by the higher castes as direct, divine revelation. Humanistically neither aspect has proved successful in the long run. The original promises have not been fulfilled. Corruption has supervened.

After revelling in the rollicking ethics of amity to the fullest extent Krishna transferred his headquarters elsewhere to indulge in the ethics of enmity, and on the pretence of morally rejuvenating the world of Bharata left it in an irretrievably moribund condition for the rest of eternity. In the name of purification and sublimation he left the crucible of society filled with fumiferous ashes and suffocating gases. It is said that the Puranas had become absolutely necessary for rescuing India from the arid desert of Vedantic emptiness. It is said that the heart of man was drying up while the head was overflowing with dialectics. So the *Rashas* were cultivated

—the *Adirasha* at Brindaban and the *Rudrarasha* Hastinapur. The result appeared in the tragedy of Prithvi who cultivated both the *Rashas*, and incurred the jealousy Joychand, who rather than acknowledge defeat in love brusl the ethics of amity and enmity in the wrong way, and l India at the feet of the foes, who had studied those ethics better purpose. Poetry has made enough noise in the wor it is taking well-merited rest now. The world has had enou of the ethics of amity and enmity. She does not want eit of them any more. She wants the ethics of reason to gu her. At this very moment she is sorely suffering from diabe carbuncle in the spinal cord of her civilisation caused by t poisonous ethics of sham Love and real Hate. She is cryi for the balm of the ethics of Reason, but too late. Sw reasonableness does not reside in factories and barracks, in t temple of Mercury or Hermes.

K. C. SEN

Reviews

Studies in Vedānta by Vasudeva J. Kirtikar, edited by Mukund R. Jayakar. Taraporevala, Bombay, Rs. 14.

This book is a collection of ten articles which the author, the late Mr. Kirtikar, contributed during the years 1904-1909 to *The East and the West* and the *Indian Review*. We are thankful to Mr. M. R. Jayakar the well-known barrister of Bombay (the grandson of the author), for rescuing the articles from the relatively inaccessible pages of monthly magazines and editing them with valuable notes.

The aim of the author is "to expound the Vedānta in language familiar to European thought" and defend it from some of the attacks made on it by Western critics. There is hardly any field of knowledge in which more sweeping generalisations are confidently put forward with less basis in ascertained fact. It is as clear as daylight to the critics of the Vedānta that it is a world-negating philosophy. This view is hardly true of non-advaitic interpretations and it is still an obscure question whether Saṁkara adopts it. The Western reader has some sympathy with the theistic interpretations of the Vedānta for which he can find parallels in his own tradition but fails to see the significance or value of the Advaita Vedānta. Any apologist for Indian thought has to reckon with the persistent misunderstanding of Advaita Vedānta and naturally an author who wrote in the first decade of this century when materials for a proper understanding of Indian thought were more meagre than they are to-day, is obliged to pay great attention to it. Though there are references to other interpretations of the Vedānta and some general features of Hinduism, the book is, in the main, an exposition of Śaṅkara's doctrine, with its central principles of nirguṇa Brahman and māyā.

The author employs throughout the device of showing that the critics are favourable to kindred doctrines in Western thought-systems, while they are harsh to them when they appear in an alien dress From the negative accounts of Brahman, Hegel, and his followers conclude that it is "an empty abstraction, an infinite blank" (p. 8). When they come across similar descriptions in Dionysius the Areopagite, Plotinus, Eckhart, etc., they defend them on the ground that the denial is made on behalf of a deeper affirmation. It is strange that this simple explanation does not occur to them in handling Indian theories. Hegel's views that the real is the determinate and that knowledge is impossible where there is no definite quality are well known. Śaṁkara knows as much as his critics that the Absolute devoid of all predicates is a mere abstraction for knowledge and seems to be one with nonbeing for, he says, in his commentary on the Chāndogya Upaniṣad "digdeśaguṇagatiphalabhedaśūnyam hi paramārtha-sad advayam brahma mandabuddhīnām asad iva pratibhāti" (VIII. 1. 1.). When we try to construe this Absolute logically, we get the conception of a concrete spirit, what Mr. Kirtikar calls "an absolute self-conscious, self-determining spirit" (p. 30).

Regarding the conception of māyā, the author observes that "Gauḍapāda and Śaṁkara leave unexplained how the universe has come to appear as a differentiated reality" (p. 34). From this it does not follow that the world is a fiction. A careful study of Śaṅkara's writings tells us that the world is not self-contained and self-subsistent but rests on Brahman and so has only relative being. A phenomenon is not a phantasm and Śaṁkara's repudiation of subjectivism is decisive on this question.

Several other problems which the book discusses will interest those who take philosophy seriously. As is perhaps inevitable when so large a topic is treated in a series of articles, there are a few obscure details and some loose ends. It is a pity that the author did not live to work out systematically, the ideas of the Advaita Vedānta, for replies to criticisms can only be sketchy though the thin sketches of some artists are worth more than the finished pictures of others. A more precise definition of the varieties of the Vedānta philosophy and a more ordered presentation of the case for the Advaita would have added to the value of the book, which, as it is, confuses the views of Śáṅkara and Ramanuja and suffers from an excess of quotations from Western critics and occasional repetition. It is, however, a great gain to have an examination of some of the central questions of the Vedānta philosophy, so well informed, so wide in outlook and so careful and balanced in judgment. The book has an excellent Index.

X.

A New History of Great Britain by R. B. Mowat, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, pp. xxxi and 1028, published by the Oxford University Press, 1922, price 10*s.* 6*d.* only.

Mr. Mowat writes in a style at once simple and vigorous and is a master of the art of historical narration. He has succeeded in producing a handy volume, charming, authoritative and useful. He does not confine himself to political and military events alone but gives, whenever necessary, a brief but clear account of the social, economic, and intellectual movements in the words of the prominent people of the period. His treatment of the over-sea dominions is marked with equal care and accuracy but we are sorry to find that the same cannot be said of his chapters dealing with India, where he has been guilty of many sad inaccuracies and hasty generalisations. The book is meant particularly for English boys, and it is good neither for India not for England that the future generation of Englishmen should have firmly rooted in their mind many misconceptions about British India.

S. N. Sen

History of the Nayaks of Madura, by R. Sathyanatha Aiyar, M.A., L.T., University Research Student, 1917-1921, Assistant Professor of History, St. Joseph's College, Trichinopoly. Edited for the University with Introduction and Notes by S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A., Hony. Ph.D., pp. xiii & 403, published by the Oxford University Press, 1924.

"The history of the Nayaks of Madura," writes Prof. Aiyangar, "comprises the history practically of the fifteenth, sixteenth, seventeenth, and the first third of the eighteenth centuries, and carries the history of South India from the best days of the empire of Vijayanagar to the eve of the British occupation of the Carnatic. It might be described as, in essential particulars, a continuation of the struggle for Hindu independence in the south against the advancing tide of Muhammadan conquest which threatened its very existence at the commencement of the fourteenth century." The book is, therefore, not of parochial interest alone, particularly as in the seventeenth century the same fight for Hindu independence was taken in hand in the western part of the Deccan by the Marathas under Shivaji. Shivaji was probably not a little inspired by the glorious exploits of the Vijayanagar Emperors and Professor Aiyangar's suggestions about the possible motives of Shivaji in his Carnatic expedition cannot be hastily dismissed. The similarity between the status and functions of the Dalwai and those of the Peshwa in the palmy days of the Maratha Empire are too striking to be ignored and it appears that some of the Maratha administrative institutions had their proto-types under the Vijayanagar rule.

The ground trodden by the author in this handy little volume is by no means virgin. The same subject has been dealt with, at different times, by Mr. Nelson, Bishop Caldwell and Prof. Rangachari. The materials at their disposal were not ample and their angle of vision and method of judging historical questions differed widely. Prof. Sathyanatha Aiyar's work, therefore, bristles with controversial questions but he disposes of them with conspicuous ability and undoubted impartiality. These lengthy discussions may make some of the chapters somewhat uninteresting to the general run of readers but Indian History has already passed its period of romanticism and to-day Indian historical scholars write, mostly, for serious students. Chapter XV, entitled General Considerations on Nāyak Rule, will be, however, interesting to all; and students of religious history will also find in this interesting volume a clear account of the missionary work and Jesuit propaganda in Southern India.

Prof. Sathyanath Aiyar might, however, use the correct Indian names instead of their Jesuit corruption, *e.g.*, Shahaji for Sagoji, Harji Mahadik for Arsumalai, Adil Shah for Idal Shah and so on. Here we may also point out that his suggestion that Hamir Rao and Orme's Hargee Raja may be identical persons, is not, however, correct. Hasaji, afterwards Hamir Rao or Hambir Rao Mohite, Shivaji's Senapati, did not long tarry in the Carnatic after his master's departure. Harji Mahadik, a son-in-law of Shivaji, was employed as a military leader in the Carnatic even during the reign of Sambhaji. This is, however, a very minor point.

The author has not entirely relied on the Tamil Chronicles, nor has he entirely ignored them. He has tried to sift his evidence with utmost care, verifying each statement by a careful comparison with existing inscriptions and information supplied by foreign travellers and missionaries.

His translation of relevant extracts from a rare French work—La Mission Du Madure, John Nieuhoff's Voyages and Travels into Brasil and East Indies, Maduraittala Varataru, and a carefully compiled and chronologically arranged list of inscriptions, given in the appendices, will be of great value and use to those readers who want to go to the original sources. The index also leaves nothing to be desired.

The volume under review gives undoubted evidence of the author's industry and patient research. We are glad to find that Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar is by no means the solitary swallow sporting around the portals of the Madras University but has already been followed by at least another hopeful harbinger of the coming spring.

S. N. SEN

Pāīa-Sadda-Mahaṇṇavo :—a Dictionary of Prakrit, in Hindi and Sanskrit : By Pandit Hargovinddas T. Sheth, Lecturer in Prakrit, Calcutta University, Vol. II. K—Dh : pp. 261-605. Calcutta, 1924 : published by the author. Rs. 8.

We noticed the first volume of this most useful work in the "Calcutta Review" for February of the current year. Students of Prakrit are eager to have the entire work published as quick as possible, and we are glad to find that the second volume has come out without much delay. The rest of the work, with additions, we hope, will be out in due course, and then the *Pāīa-Sadda-Mahaṇṇavo* will be the best and handiest Prakrit dictionary for ordinary purposes.

The number of words in this part would seem to exceed 20,000, so far we have thus some 31,000 words. The plan and arrangement are, of course, the same as in the previous volume. We are grateful to the learned compiler for the list of texts and editions utilised in preparing the work. Exact register of editions with mention of reference either to page, chapter or verse, is a great help and must figure in any critical work. Some 200 works many of them in MS., have been drawn upon, and this list itself will be useful as a good bibliography of Prakrit and Jaina texts and literature.

Those who have had occasion to use this work and can testify to its excellence and usefulness will be pleased to see that it has received proper appreciation from competent scholars in the domain of Prakrit and Indian philology both in India and in Europe. The Calcutta University can well be congratulated in possessing such an erudite professor of Prakrit in Pandit Hargovinddas.

S. K. C.

Easy German Reader, Book II; composed and compiled by Pashupatinath Shastri, M.A., B.L., Ph. D. Calcutta University. Revised by Henny Köhne of Berlin. Published by Ashokenath Bhattacherjee, 41 Baghbazar Street, Calcutta.

Although this Easy Reader is too easy and not the kind I need, I have on account of the passages on Physics and Chemistry decided to use it in my Elementary Classes in the University College of Science, and on account of the stories taken from Indian Mythology in the Senate House. In future I want *Proper German Prose, i.e.,* extracts from German Literature, but no prose of Lessing, Schiller and Goethe but of *modern* writers, and particularly of *authors on Indian Subjects, i. e.,* the works of *Prof. Winternitz* or *Dr. Stella Kramrisch's* " *Grundz üge der Indischen Kunst.*" (Outlines or better *Fundamentals* of Indian Art), a book, written not only in "*a perfect and ideal German prose, but also in an extremely beautiful, poetical and fascinating style.*"

THEODOR LING

Ourselves

THE LATE DR. S. K. MULLICK.

It is with a heavy heart that we have to record the untimely death of Dr. S. K. Mullick at a comparatively early age of fifty-four. Dr. Mullick's name will remain for ever enshrined in the memory of his countrymen for his successful attempts in imparting military education to the people of this country. The Senate of the Calcutta University appointed a Committee only the other day to consider a very important letter of his addressed to the Vice-Chancellor and the Syndicate calling upon them to render military education compulsory amongst our boys. Our respectful condolences to Mrs. Mullick.

* * *

THE LATE SIR GOOROODAS BANERJEE.

It was exactly six years ago that on the 2nd December, 1918, Sir Gooroodas Banerjee died leaving behind him his whole country in mourning. His example has served as a beacon light to many of his countrymen and we trust the bust that will be unveiled by the Vice-Chancellor on the 8th December, 1924, will serve as an inspiration to generations of young men and women who pass through the portals of this University.

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POST-GRADUATE REORGANISATION.

The Post-Graduate Reorganisation Committee, we are told, are meeting now to consider ways and means for the stabilisation and development of Post-Graduate Studies in Calcutta. We understand the Committee have submitted a unanimous *interim* report to the Senate. We reserve our comments on the future reorganisation of the Post-Graduate department to a future issue of the *Review*.

* * *

PORTUGUESE STUDIES.

Almost the last thing that Sir Asutosh Mookerjee did for this University was the appointment of an Honorary Lecturer in Portuguese Language and Literature. Although this measure made no, or, very little impression, on the so-called educationists of Bengal, it was not lost upon the Portuguese Government. His Excellency Dr. Jaime de Morais, Governor General of Portuguese India, himself an eminent scholar, not only publicly thanked Dr. Placido Bragança Cunha in the Government Gazette for his patriotic offer to serve this University without any honorarium but further instructed his government to send all their historical and archaeological publications to the University Library. The first instalment of these publications, consisting of a rare set of *O Oriente Portuguese*, has already arrived and we offer our heartfelt thanks to His Excellency for his generous and courteous co-operation in the sacred cause of the "Advancement of Learning."

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SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE MEMORIAL FUND.

We have great pleasure in publishing the following list of subscriptions to the Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Memorial Fund. We hope to announce a further list later on :

Amounts Paid.

Names.	Rs.	A.	P.
Sir R. N. Mookerjee	2,500	0	0
Sir B. K. Bose	2,000	0	0
Rai Bahadur Dr. U. N. Brahmachari	1,000	0	0
Hon'ble Justice Sir W. E. Greaves	500	0	0
Mr. J. C. Chakravorti... ...	332	9	0
Mr. J. C. Ghosh	307	0	0
Sir M. Visvesvaraya	200	0	0
Raja Janakinath Ray	200	0	0
Indian Staff of Messrs. Martin & Co.	200	0	0
Mr. Manmathanath Ray, M.L.C. ...	200	0	0
Mr. Charuchandra Bose ...	200	0	0
Dr. Syamadas Mookerjee ...	200	0	0
Dr. Sivapada Bhattacharyya ...	200	0	0
Dr. Pramathanath Nandi ...	200	0	0
Mr. S. K. Mookerjee ...	200	0	0
Agartala Umakanta Academy ...	170	0	0
Hon'ble Sir Dinshaw Wacha ...	150	0	0
Mr. Satish Chandra Ghosh ...	150	0	0
Mr. Sailendranath Mitra ...	150	0	0
Mr. Indubhushan Bose ...	150	0	0
Chittagong District H. E. & Normal Schools	125	0	0
Mr. Anandakrishna Sinha ...	101	0	0
Mr. P. C. Ghose	100	0	0
Dr. Bamandas Mukherjee ...	100	0	0
Mr. A Macdonald	100	0	0
Mr. Lal Krishnaji	100	0	0
Mr. Bejaykumar Sarkar ...	100	0	0
Dr. P. C. Mitter	100	0	0
Mr. S. K. Rudra	100	0	0
Dr. M. N. Banerjee	100	0	0

Names.	Rs.	A.	P.
Members of Rajendra College Staff	100	0	0
Governing Body of the Midnapur College ...	100	0	0
Mr. Jaygopal Banerjee ...	100	0	0
Mr. Panchanan Mitra ...	100	0	0
Dr. Abinashchandra Das ...	100	0	0
Mr. Hariprasanna Banerjee ...	100	0	0
Mr. Satischandra Bose ...	100	0	0
Mr. Birajmohan Majumdar ...	100	0	0
Mr. Sitaram Banerjee ...	100	0	0
Dr. S. K. Mitra ...	100	0	0
Dr. Gauranganath Banerjee ...	100	0	0
Dr. Surendramohon Ganguli ...	100	0	0
Mr. Ramchandra Rau ...	100	0	0
Mr. Rupendrakumar Mitra ...	100	0	0
Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewala ...	100	0	0
Dr. S. C. Bagchi ...	100	0	0
Dr. Abhaykumar Guha ...	100	0	0
Dr. P. N. Ghosh	100	0	0
Mr. Sunilchandra Bose ...	100	0	0
Major A. D. Stewart	100	0	0
Mr. Jitendranath Maitra ...	100	0	0
Dr. N. N. Sengupta	100	0	0
Mr. Jitendra Prasad Niyogi ...	100	0	0
Dr. Benimadhab Chakrabarti ...	100	0	0
Mr. Debakumar Datta ...	100	0	0
Mr. Srischandra Mookerjee ...	100	0	0
Mr. Prafullachandra Ghosh ...	100	0	0
Dr. D. M. Bose	100	0	0
Mr. Nirmalchandra Chatterjee ...	100	0	0
Other Contributions	12,847	3	0
Total ...	25,982	12	0

Amounts Promised.

Names.		Amounts. Rs.	A.	P.
Mr. Jaminibhushan Ray	...	3,000	0	0
Rai Bahadur G. C. Ghosh	...	2,500	0	0
Mr. Durgacharan Banerjee	...	2,000	0	0
Mr. Jatindranath Maitra	...	1,000	0	0
Dr. H. C. Mookerjee	...	1,000	0	0
Dr. Narendranath Law	...	500	0	0
Dr. Pramathanath Banerjea, M.L.C.		575	0	0
Mr. A. C. Mukherjee	...	300	0	0
Mr. Manmathanath Ray, M.L.C.	...	200	0	0
Mr. S. C. Mahalanobis	...	200	0	0
Mr. Kaminikumar Chanda	...	100	0	0
Rai A. C. Bose, Bahadur	...	100	0	0
Dr. S. C. Bagchi	...	100	0	0
Mr. S. Khuda Bukhsh	...	100	0	0
Mr. S. N. Mallik	...	100	0	0
Total	...	11,775	0	0

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PRINCIPLES OF INDIAN ART.

Dr. Stella Kramrisch, Lecturer on Indian Art in the Post-Graduate Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, has brought out recently a book: "Grundzüge der indischen Kunst" (Principles of Indian Art), published in Germany, Dresden, 1924. 4°, pp. 140. Pl. 48.

The following review appeared in *Litterarisches Zentralblatt, No. 15, 2. IX. 1924*, Leipzig, by "Avenarius," of which we publish an English translation :

"The unlimited field of Indian Art makes many scholars even more confused than necessary on account of the vastness of the material.

Dr. Kramrisch beats tracks into the thicket of these documents of an extraordinary imagination and creates order in demonstrating those aesthetic values of Indian art that constitute its physiognomy. By discussing the principles according to Myth and Form, to nature, space and rhythm, she gains the basis for pointing out the law of evolution of this art. The contrast of the visible world as *drishtam* and of the invisible world as *adrishtam* serves as an excellent compass thereby. The law of the development of the Indian art is traced from 200 B. C.—1800 A. D., and is gained from a knowledge of the spirit of India, and from the peculiarities of its race and is not (as it is frequently the case) derived from a cheap, all too cheap confrontation with Western European Civilisation."

* * *

ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM OF THE MARATHAS.

The October number of the J. R. A. S. says thus of Dr. Sen's *Administrative System of the Marathas* :

"Dr. Surendranath Sen has given us a most careful and comprehensive work and has shown that the work begun so well by Ranade is being continued in competent hands. The fact that the Maratha Kingdom lasted for a century and a half should be sufficient to dispel the idea that the Marathas were mere bands of marauders. It comes as a surprise, however, to see what a wealth of material there is for the study of their constitutional and administrative history. The author investigates the origin and development of their institutions, analysing the influence of traditional Hindu systems of polity and of those of their Muslim neighbours. The book is a most valuable addition to the publications of Calcutta University."

The first edition of this work is already out of print, and a revised edition is in preparation.

REPORT ON THE STUDENT WELFARE SCHEME FOR THE YEAR 1923

The health examination of the students of the University of Calcutta has been going on under the auspices of the Student Welfare Committee of the University since 28th March, 1920. We have already placed before the Syndicate three annual reports on our work. The present report brings the work down to 31st December, 1923. We have been able to visit ten of the Calcutta colleges and our present report would give a fair idea of the condition of health of the Calcutta college students. The total number of students examined up to date is 7443. This includes 272 students of the Serampore College. The data for the Serampore College students, who were examined during December, 1923, have not been classified and tabulated yet and do not form part of the present report.

Very great difficulty is being experienced in the management of the office which has got to deal with an enormous amount of material. There are as many as 65 items entered for each student, and the present office staff is very much overworked in tabulating, sifting and examining the figures obtained. Much valuable scientific results could be obtained from the material in hand, but the paucity of office assistants renders the undertaking of such work impossible. We have repeatedly urged the necessity of increasing the grant for the Student Welfare Scheme but unfortunately financial stringency has prevailed and prevented us from discharging the full measure of our duty. The remuneration for the medical examiners ought to be increased and extra apparatus and appliances have to be secured. The contingency grant is found to be insufficient to meet the expenses incurred in connection with the examinations outside Calcutta. The Rowing Club under our charge is not thriving as it should for want of funds. The number of assistants in the office has to be increased and a separate allowance should be given to the Superintendent in charge. The head assistant's pay, which is now on the same level with the other assistants, should be increased and lastly, and what is most important of all, money should be found for preventive and remedial measures for the defects found in our students.

Although the Student Welfare movement is gaining in popularity daily and we are being approached by authorities outside the jurisdiction of the University of Calcutta for the examination of students under their charge, still much remains to be done in the shape of propaganda work. We have been approached by Government authorities and other public bodies from Madras, Bihar and Orissa, Lucknow and other places for a detailed scheme of our work.

A list of the members of the Student Welfare Committee and of the workers and assistants together with a statement of the monthly expenditure is given below:

Table A.

The above statement includes the grant for the Rowing Club Section. Dr. A. Chatterjee, M.B., B.S. acted as Hony. Secretary of this Section and Mr. H. Maiti was the Hony. Supervisor. An account of working of the Rowing Club Section would be found at the end of this report. The office section and the preparation and tabulation of statistical data for the year 1923 were under the charge of Mr. M. N. Banerji, M.Sc.

General Remarks.

In our first report which was published in July, 1921, we mentioned—"We do not at present know what is the standard of a student's weight at a certain age in India. Should we be guided by the weight of a student in the foreign country? Is the Indian boy to be as heavy and as developed as a foreigner at a certain age?" We are now in a position to fix the normals for Bengalee boys for height, weight, etc., for all ages from 16 to 22. The data for age groups above 22 are not sufficiently numerous to warrant us to make a definite statement about their norms. We are now able to say whether a student is under-weight or over-weight, whether his stature is above or below the normal, whether his development is normal or not, and so on. We believe that this is the first time that such normals have been determined for Indian students. It is only on the basis of such normal determinations that a comparison of the health of our student community is possible with that of any other country.

Age Distribution of Students.

Table No. 1 shows the distribution of students according to age in the various institutions. The largest number falls under the age group 18.

Caste Distribution of Students.

Table No. 2 shows the distribution of students according to caste. About 31 per cent. of the students are Brahmins, 28 per cent. Kayasthas, 8 per cent. Baidyas, and 8 per cent. other Hindus, 7 per cent. Muhammadans, 1 per cent. Christians. 320 students have not recorded their castes.

General Appearance.

As in our last report we have classified the students under four groups—A, B, C, and D—Table 3. A denotes good muscular development, B stoutness without much muscularity, C medium musculature, and D thin bodily development.

About 8 per cent. of the students show good muscular development and about 30 per cent. are of thin build. The percentage of "A" class students is slightly less than that mentioned in our last year's report. This is due to the influence of thin and medium students in the Ripon and St. Xavier's Colleges. The percentage of stout students remains practically constant. The maximum figure for the "A" class is still maintained by the Presidency College students. The lowest figure is for the Ripon College. The age distribution Chart —Table 4—shows that the musculature goes on developing up to the year 24. Beyond this the data are not sufficiently numerous to warrant any general conclusion. Another interesting fact, also noticed in our last year's report, is that the percentage for thin students steadily falls from 16 up to the age 22.

The age groups 21 and 22 seem to show the optimum muscularity.

Posture.

The percentage of students showing stoop is highest in the Bangabashi College and lowest in the University Classes—Table 5. In our last report we mentioned that younger the student the more mainfestly evident was the stoop. This year's record also brings out the same fact. We can therefore confirm our last year's statement that the younger college students are submitted to a strain which acts debeteriously on their physical development. About 51 per cent. of the students only show an erect posture—Table 5.

Skin.

We have classified the skin into normal and defectives. About 61 per cent. of the students have got normal skin—Table 7. Under the head defective have been included all skin diseases. Acne seems to be the most frequent skin trouble and scabies comes next. This year one student has been detected suffering from leprosy. The total number of leprosy cases found up to date is 2. We are indebted to Major E. Muir of the Tropical School of Medicine for the confirmation of our diagnosis.

Complexion.

Skin complexion has been classified under four groups—"A" very fair, "B" fair, "C" Brown and "D" black. The percentages for the different classes are about the same as in the last year's report—Table 8. A caste distribution—Table 9—shows that the highest figure for fair students ("A and "B" classes combined) is claimed by the Brahmins. The "higher" castes show the preponderance of fair complexion over the "lower."

Height, Weight and Ponderal Index.

The average height shows slightly higher figure than that of the last year—Table 10. The weight and ponderal index show a decrease. We are able to confirm last year's findings that the weight increases at a comparatively rapid rate in the earlier years and that the maximum development takes place in age groups 21 and 22. On analysing the figures for height—Table 11—it will be found that the growth in height is not uniform but that there are distinct spurts at the age 18 and again at 21. We have been able to determine the norms for height and weight for the different age groups. This is shown in the table for normals—Table No. 27. The St. Xavier's College students show the greatest average height and the City College the lowest. The ponderal index is highest in the University classes and lowest in the St. Xavier's College.

Chest and Vital Capacity.

Since submitting our last year's report we have not been able to take readings for vital capacity as the spirometer got out of order and could not be replaced for want of funds. The tendency for the chest measurement to increase with age has been well brought out by our findings—Table 14. The highest figure for chest expansion is shown by the Scottish Churches College and the lowest by the South Suburban—Table 12. The average expansion is about 4 c.m.

Head Measurements.

The cephalic index shows an average of 79·9. This is slightly higher than last year's figure. The age distribution—

Table 16—shows a progressive diminution of the cephalic index from 16 upward. We can thus definitely say that from 16 to 24 the length of the skull increases more rapidly than the breadth.

Audition

The audition figures for the different colleges are not comparable—Table 17—as the conditions for determination were not constant. In our previous reports we mentioned that the auditory acquity tended to diminish with age. Table 17A for the present year with a total of 7171 cases does not show this very clearly. In our previous reports we mentioned another peculiarity that the left ear was more efficient than the right. This is fully corroborated in our present year's work. The analysis of the audition records of both the left and right ears by Mr. M. N. Banerjee has brought out a very remarkable fact, *viz.*, that there is a bi-modal distribution in the frequency curves—Table 17B. The first mode lying about the region 40 c.m. and the second about 85. This bi-modal distribution is also evident in the individual figures for different colleges. It would thus appear that just as in the case of vision we have long sight and short sight so in the domain of audition also we have 'long hearing' and 'short hearing.'

Vision.

The percentage of students having refractive error is slightly less than that of last year. About 67 per cent. of the students have got normal vision—Table 18. The percentages of uncorrected and partially corrected defects are also less. This is due principally to the influence of the propaganda work conducted by the medical examiners. The progressive deterioration due to age is noticeable to some extent, see Table 19. The correlationship between vision and tooth defects is also evident this year.

Teeth.

About 62 per cent. of the students show healthy teeth—Table 20. The percentage of caries is as high as 7·6. This is slightly in excess of the last year's findings. The St. Xavier's students show the worst figures for caries, then comes South Suburban and Ripon Colleges. City College students give the minimum figure for caries. Pyorrhoea is seen in about 5 per cent. of the students. About 20 per cent. suffer from spongy or defective gum—Table 21.

General Defects.

Under this heading have been included, as in last year's report, defects of heart, pulse, lungs, tonsils, throat, spleen, eye troubles, other than those of refraction, pharyngitis, nasal troubles, liver complaints etc.—Table 22. The percentage table of general defects—Table 23 and 23A—shows that the figures for the different items have been remarkably constant. Generally speaking, it may be said that the Vidyasagar College shows the highest figures for general defects and the Presidency the lowest.

Total Defectives.

Under this heading have been recorded all cases who show some defect or other. About 66% of the students are defective in some way or other Tables 24 & 25. This means that two out of three students require medical attention. This year we have eliminated from our records cases of general defect of transient nature. Hence the slight lowering of figure as compared with our last year's record.

Fecundity Index.

The highest figure is still being maintained by the Presidency College. Our previous assertion that poorer mothers show less fecundity than their richer sisters has been confirmed by this year's findings also. The average fecundity index is ·43. It means that on an average one child is born every three years and a half during the child-bearing period. A grouping of the fecundity figures arranged under different age groups of students shows clearly that there is a falling off in figures with advancing age. This means that the child-bearing capacity of a mother diminishes with age—Table 26A.

Determination of Normals.

Students very often approach us with a request to examine them and to let them know whether they are under-weight or over-weight, whether their height is normal or not, and so on. Unfortunately hitherto we had no data to enable us to pass any reliable verdict on normality. When the Student Welfare Scheme began its work it was one of our aims to establish the norms for the different items in the case of Bengali students. Now that we have had a record of over 7000 cases, we think we are justified in fixing down the limits of normality. The fact that the averages for the different items have now become practically constant, would indicate that normal limits could be determined with a sufficient degree of reliability to meet all practical requirements. For our purposes we have laid down the criteria of normality as follows :

> "A normal individual is one whose deviation from the average with regard to a particular trait is less than the standard deviation of the group to which he belongs."

Applying this definition we have fixed the normal limits for standing height, weight, circumference of head, bi-parietal diameter, occipito-frontal diameter, cephalic index, chest inspiration, and chest expiration. We have determined the normal limits for these items for each age group individually, as well as for all the students taken together. In Table 27 will be found under each age group under each item three figures placed one above other. The middle figure is the average and we have called it the "Model." The upper figure is the maximum normal limit and the lowest figure the minimum normal limit. This table would enable us to say immediately whether a student has got normal developments as regards the different items. We have also prepared a correlation table—No. 28—showing the normal ranges for weight for particular heights for particular age groups as well as the weights for particular height for all age groups taken together.

As a work of great anthropological interest the figures for the different items under each age group have been calculated with reference to the different castes and sub-castes. The individual age groups for the different castes do not as yet all show a sufficiently numerous frequency to justify a reliable conclusion. Under these conditions we have given in this report a table for the ages 18 and 21 only. Age 18 contains the largest frequency and 21 is period for maximum development. Hence the selection of these two age groups is likely to show the best comparative differentiation. In this table (Table 29) the sub-groups for the different castes have been considered together under Brahmin, Kayastha and Baidya respectively.

Rowing Club Section.

Eight boats were allotted this year to members. The number of members on the Register at present is 58. We had to remove names of many members from the Register, as they did not pay up their arrear subscriptions in spite of repeated notices. We hope that the number will be increased by inclusion of new members in the early part of the next year. The number of boats going out is on an average 4 daily and the average number of members attending daily is 26.

Periodic measurements of weight, chest expansion and grip were taken for each member. These measurements enable us to judge whether a member is improving or not under regular exercise. Improvements, specially in the case of new members, have been marked by noticed as regards chest expansion and grip though not so much in weight. In one case the chest expansion increased from 6 c. m. to 10.5 c. m. as the result of four months' regular exercise. In this connection we have to thank Dr. Nibaran Chandra Mittra, M.B., for his kindly examining some of our members who were sent to him for special heart examination.

An Inter-Club League Competition was started in early September, but it could not be concluded owing to the ensuing vacation when most of the members left Calcutta. Several friendly races were, however, organized during the year, and these were much appreciated by our members.

A large number of our members celebrated All Rowers Day in the Vice-Chancellor's Garden House at Agarpara on the 9th July. One of our boats was lent to the Improvement Trust for use in the Shambazar Park on the occasion of the opening ceremony of the park by H. E. the Governor of Bengal.

We take this opportunity of thanking the Serampore College authorities for kindly allowing some of our members to row in their college boat.

G. BOSE.
A. CHATTERJI.
M. N. BANERJI.
H. MAITI.

SENATE HOUSE,
2nd January, 1924.

Student Welfare Committee.

The Vice-Chancellor, *Chairman.*
Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, Kt., C. S. I., etc.
Sir Nilratan Sirkar, M.A., M.D., LL.D., etc.
Herambachandra Maitra, Esq., M.A.
S. C. Mohalanabis, Esq., B.Sc., F.R.S.E.
J. R. Banerjea, Esq., M.A., B.L.
Surgeon General B. H. Deare, C.I.E., M.R.C.P., etc.
Rev. J. Watt, M.A., D.D.
M. N. Banerji, Esq., M.R.C.S., etc.
Rev. Father J. Fallon, S.J.
Bt. Lt.-Col. F.A.F. Barnardo, C.I.E., C.B.E., M.B.
Major H. Suhrawardy, M.D., F.R.C.S.I.
Dr. Girindrasekhar Bose, D.Sc., M.B. } *Jt. Hon. Secretaries.*
Dr. Anathnath Chatterji, M.B., B.S. }

	Remuneration per month. Rs.
Superintendents—	
Mr. M. N. Banerjee, M.Sc.	50
„ H. Maiti, M.A.	50
Examiners—	
Dr. H. N. Bose, L.M.S.	50
„ A. C. Mitra, L.M.S.	50
„ D. P. Banerji, M.B.	50
„ B. N. Bose, M.B.	50
„ B. B. Chakravarti, M.B.	50
„ D. N. Banerjee, M.B.	50
„ H. N. Bose, H.A.	50
Mr. M. Ganguly, M.Sc.	50
„ P. Banerji, B.A. (Tabulator)	50
„ M. Sen (Assistant to do.)	30
	580
Office Staff—	
Mr. Kalidas Banerjee, M.A. (Head Assistant)	60
„ P. Chowdhury (Assistant)	60
„ Janakinath Mukherji (do.)	60
„ Bhabanath Bose (do.)	55
Durwan Ram Samuj Singhi	16
	251
Contingency	150
Contingency for the Rowing Club Section	25
Keeper Do. Do. Do.	18
	Rs. 1,024

TABLE No. 1

Distribution of Students according to Age

Age.	Scottish Churches College.	University Classes.	City College.	Presidency College.	Vidyasagar College.	C. M. S. College.	Bangabasi College.	Ripon College.	St. Xavier's College.	South Suburban College.	TOTAL.
15	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	2
16	52	..	113	51	5	...	94	11	2	54	382
17	150	...	281	125	55	14	354	71	76	107	1244
18	177	...	299	164	131	14	342	109	71	128	1435
19	220	...	269	163	148	25	265	95	91	113	1389
20	169	4	293	115	159	26	155	76	62	72	1131
21	81	21	169	43	111	29	104	55	24	45	682
22	42	33	149	17	72	11	63	45	16	27	475
23	16	30	86	8	30	6	24	12	3	7	222
24	3	24	31	1	22	4	14	2	2	7	110
25	2	12	11	2	7	...	9	2	1	4	50
26	1	7	5	1	3	1	3	...	...	2	23
27	...	4	2	1	3	...	...	...	...	2	12
28	...	2	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	4
29	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1
30	...	1	2	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	4
31	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	2
32	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
34	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1
37	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Total ...	913	140	1710	692	759	133	1428	479	349	568	7171

TABLE No. 2.

Distribution of Students according to Different Castes

Caste.	Number of Students.	Percentage.	
Radiya Brahmins	1,175	16·38	31·04
Barendra Brahmins	134	1·86	
Bhattacharyya (mixed)	228	3·17	
Chakravarti (mixed)	242	3·37	
Other Brahmins (mixed)	449	6·26	
Kulin Kayastha	896	12·49	
"Atghara" Kayastha (Maulic)	451	6·28	28·09
Other Kayasthas	669	9·32	
Baidya	563	7·85	
Khatriya	73	1·01	
Vaisyas	159	2·21	
Gandhabanik	32	·44	
Mahisya	202	2·81	
Subarnabanik	121	1·68	
Vaisya Saha	87	1·21	
Christians	100	1·39	
Mahomedans	524	7·307	
Other castes	632	8·81	

320 students have not reported their castes.

TABLE No. 3.

College.	Muscular.	Stout.	Medium.	Thin.
Scottish Churches	13	9	47·8	28·9
University Classes	6·4	13·6	47·1	30·7
City	8·7	5·7	50·2	35·4
Presidency	10·4	6·6	55·2	27·7
Vidyasagar	6·99	4·61	62·0	26·25
C. M. S.	6·76	4·51	70·67	18·04
Bangabasi	5·46	5·39	59·103	29·97
Ripon	3·75	10·22	62·83	23·17
St. Xavier	5·15	8·02	62·46	24·35
South Suburban	8·09	8·45	55·45	27·9
General	7·97	6·84	55·61	29·34

TABLE No. 4.

General Appearance according to Age

	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	General.
A	5·75	6·42	7·44	7·77	8·57	9·09	8	11·26	11·81	24	21·73	7·97
B	4·71	6·27	6·27	5·75	7·69	7·62	9·89	9·009	5·45	8	17·39	6·84
C	47·38	52·009	54·87	58·45	57·64	58·65	58·94	53·603	55·45	50	34·78	55·61
D	42:14	34·48	31·39	28·005	25·99	23·9	22·52	24·32	25·45	18	26·08	29·34

TABLE No. 5.

Posture

College.	Erect.	Stooping.
Scottish Churches College	69·2%	29·8%
University Classes	78·6%	19·3%
City College	54·4%	45·6%
Presidency College	52·4%	47·6%
Vidyasagar College	45·6%	54·4%
C. M. S. College	53·4%	46·6%
Bangabasi College	41·4%	58·5%
Ripon College	45·92%	54·07%
St. Xavier's College	57·306%	42·69%
South Suburban College	51·408%	48·41%
General Percentage ...	51·108%	47·48%

TABLE No. 6.

Posture

	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	General.
E	46·07	40·99	47·73	51·33	56·85	55·57	61·68	58·108	65·45	72	73·91	...	51·11
S	53·9	53·36	52·12	48·66	42·52	44·13	38·105	40·54	32·72	28	26·08	...	47·5

TABLE NO. 7.

Skin

College.	Normal.	Defective.
C. M. S. College	64·66	35·33
Bangabasi College	62·04	37·98
Ripon College	61·58	38·41
St. Xavier's College	56·44	43·55
South Suburban College	59·95	40·14
General ...	61·007	38·99

TABLE NO. 8.

Complexion

College.	Very fair.	Fair.	Brown.	Black.
Scottish Churches ...	1·9%	27·5%	62%	7·3%
University Classes ...	0·7%	25%	62%	10%
City College ...	0·7%	22·5%	70%	7%
Presidency College ...	1 1%	17·6%	76·3%	4·9%
Vidyasagar College ...	2 4%	22%	70·7%	4·9%
C. M. S. College ...	3·7%	13·3%	75·2%	6·8%
Bangabasi College ...	1·1%	19·6%	67·1%	11·9%
Ripon College ...	1·67%	12·94%	70·98%	14·405%
St. Xavier's College ...	5·4%	17·76%	66·18%	10·601%
South Suburban College ...	1·05%	13·73%	69·54%	15·66%
General percentage ...	1·54%	20·48%	68·72%	8·99%

TABLE NO. 9.

Caste.	Number of Students.	Percentage Table.			
		A	B	C	D
Radiya Brahmins	1175	1·702	27·91	65·27	4·93
Barendra Brahmins	134	1·49	33·58	59·701	5·22
Bhattacharyya (mixed)	228	1·31	25·87	67·54	4·82
Chakrabarti (mixed)	242	·41	21·48	69·83	8·26
Other Brahmins (mixed)	449	2·004	23·16	68·59	5·56
Kulin Kayastha	896	1·89	20·20	66·96	10·04
"Atgarh" Kayastha (Maulic) ...	451	·44	16·62	72·72	9·53
Other Kayasthas...	669	·89	16·59	72·49	9·71
Baidya...	563	1·06	22·02	68·38	8·52
Khatriya	73	5·47	27·39	58·908	5·47
Vaisyas	159	·62	23·27	70·44	5·66
Gandhabanik	32	...	6·25	81·25	12·5
Mahisya	202	...	9·405	63·36	26·73
Subarnabanik	121	·82	23·14	69·42	4·13
Vaisya Saha	87	...	19·55	75·86	4·59
Christians	100	6	15	68	10
Mahomedans	524	1·71	14·12	69·27	13·74
Other castes	632	1·107	16·61	68·98	13·13
Caste not given	320	1·87	18·43	65	14·37
General ...	7171	1·56	20·	68·02	9·24

TABLE No. 10

College.	Height. c. m.	Weight. kilo.	Ponderal Index.
Scottish Churches College	165·9	52·2	2·25
University Classes...	166·4	53·5	2·27
City College	162·2	50·0	2·23
Presidency College...	165·5	52·4	2·25
Vidyasagar College...	163·2	51·7	2·26
C. M. S. College	166·4	50·5	2·24
Bangabasi College	164·5	50·1	2·24
Ripon College	166·4	50·0	2·22
St. Xavier's College	167·7	51·3	2·21
South Suburban College	165·9	49·5	2·17
General	165 81	50·84	2·22

TABLE No. 11

Height and Weight according to Age

	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
Height in C. M.	163·3	165·1	165·7	166·2	166·3	166·3	166·5	166·2	166·4	165·3	166·1
Weight in Kilo	47	49·2	50·4	51·1	52	52·1	52·3	52·7	53·2	54·1	52·7

TABLE No. 12

College.	Inspiration. c. m.	Expiration. c. m.	Expansion. c. m.	Vital Capacity. lit.
Scottish Churches College ...	83·7	79·0	4·7	...
University Classes	85·6	81·6	4·0	...
City College	81·3	77·2	4·4	2·71
Presidency College	82·73	78·3	4·1	2·885
Vidyasagar College	83·71	80·25	3·71	2·842
C. M. S. College	83·47	79·0	4·43	2·73
Bangabasi College	82·33	78·85	3·4	2·35
Ripon College	81·2	77·5	3·7	...
St. Xavier's College	82·9	78·9	4·1	...
South Suburban College ...	82·0	78·6	3·3	...
General ...	82·05	78·65	4·0	2·69

TABLE No. 13

Chest Inspiration according to Age

16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
79·7	81·4	82·2	82·6	83·4	83·6	84·1	84·4	84·5	84·9	84·8

TABLE No. 14

Vital Capacity according to Age

	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
Vital Capacity	2·55	2·62	2·72	2·72	2·79	2·87	2·95	2·83	2·98	2·87	2·82

TABLE No. 15

College.	Circumference. c. m.	Cephalic Index.
Scottish Churches College	53·8	79·9
University Classes	53·9	80·3
City College	53·1	79·7
Presidency College	53·6	78·4
Vidyasagar College	53.48	79·92
C. M. S. College	54·2	79·9
Bangabasi College	54·7	80·16
Ripon College	53·77	79·4
St. Xavier's College	53·8	80·0
South Suburban College	54·2	80·4
General ...	53·3	79·97

TABLE No. 16

Cephalic Index according to Age

16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
80·8	80·6	80·2	79·9	79·8	79·5	79·2	79·0	78·5	78·8	78·3

TABLE No. 17

Audition

College.	Right. c. m.	Left. c. m.
Scottish Churches College	70·9	75·3
University Classes	59·2	61.2
City College	41·0	41·0
Presidency College	67·7	72·9
Vidyasagar College	72·1	73·2
C. M. S. College	117·5	122·3
Bangabasi College	82·6	88·5
Ripon College	100·4	108·7
St. Xaviers College	90·8	97·9
South Suburban College	77·7	85·8
General ...	69·5	73·9

TABLE No. 17A

Average of Audition Ranges for all Ages

G.	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
Audition Right	69	72	71	70	69	70	67	61	59	64	60
Audition Left	73	76	75	76	73	73	71	68	64	68	65

General R—69 L—74

TABLE No. 17B.

Total Frequencies for the Right and Left Audition

(1—7171).

Frequencies for Right Audition.	6	48	318	645	806	642	725	832	858	831	508	333	243	94	73	43	32	5	9	12	11	6	4	2	1	1	2
Frequencies for Left Audition.	7	61	279	625	746	625	601	676	720	855	636	454	350	170	89	56	47	24	22	8	16	10	5	2	2	2	...

0 5 15 25 35 45 55 65 75 85 95 105 115 125 135 145 155 165 175 185 195 205 215 225 235 245 255 265

CENTIMETER

Table No. 18

Defects of Refraction—Percentage Table

College.	Defective B. C. & D	Uncorrected Defect.	Partially corrected Defect.
Scottish Churches College	38·7	39·3	25·5
University Classes	51·7	26·1	23·2
City College	29·3	38·2	12·0
Presidency College	47·3	23·0	26·7
Vidyasagar College	29·5	41·0	18·6
C. M. S. College	32·3	59·9	13·8
Bangabasi College	31·9	47·6	16·7
Ripon College	22·5	62·9	6·5
St. Xavier's College	36·9	20·9	13·9
South Suburban College	24·1	57·3	16·2
General ...	32·73	37·76	17·88

Table No. 19

	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
Vision Normal	72·2	67·4	69·1	67·8	65·6	65·4	66·9	66·6	59·1	52	47·8
Teeth Normal	69·4	68	64·4	61·8	58·4	57	57·9	57·2	51·9	36	73·9

TABLE NO. 20.

College.			Percentage figures.		
			Normal.	Caries.	Defective.
Scottish Churches College	...	...	58·6	2·4	32·0
University Classes	... ...	...	60.7	4·3	37·1
City College ...	... ...	...	70·6	2·3	17·9
Presidency College	... ...	...	60·2	10·8	29·5
Vidyasagar College	... ...	...	36·4	10·0	40·8
C. M. S. College	... ...	...	66·2	6·8	31·6
Bangabasi College	... ...	...	58·2	10·5	36·1
Ripon College	... ...	...	58·7	11·9	28·2
St. Xavier's College	... ...	...	63·9	13·5	26·9
South Suburban College	... ...	...	64·3	12·3	30·5
General	...	...	62·1	7·6	30·7

TABLE NO. 21.

College.			Bleeding Gum.	Spongy Gum.	Pyorrhœa.
Scottish Churches College ...	...	...	5·8	3·3	9·5
University Classes ...	...	...	22·8	5·0	8·6
City College	...	...	14·6	9·9	2·5
Presidency College ...	...	...	9·1	9·1	1·8
Vidyasagar College ...	...	...	6·7	2·8	3·3
C. M. S. College ...	..	...	...	9·0	1·5
Bangabasi College ...	...	...	...	1·4	4·9
Ripon College	...	...	...	16·9	4·4
St. Xavier's College ...	...	...	...	14·6	3·9
South Suburban College ...	...	...	...	23·2	1·4
General Percentage		...	...	19·5	4·9

TABLE NO. 22.

College.	Number of students.	General Defectives.	Percentage.
Scottish Churches College	913	145	16%
University Classes	140	52	37%
City College	1710	356	21%
Presidency College	692	267	39%
Vidyasagar College	759	290	38%
C. M. S. College	133	55	41%
Bangabasi College	1428	445	31%
Ripon College	479	138	29%
St. Xaviers College	349	100	29%
South Subarban College	568	195	34%
General	7171	2043	28%

TABLE No. 23.

Percentage Table of General Defects

College.	Heart.	Lung.	Liver.	Spleen.	Tonsil.	Hydrocele.	Orchitis.	Hernia.
Scottish Churches College	8·1	0·6	0 7	1 6	2·3	0·9	0 3	0·1
University Centre	10·1	0·7	2·8	2·1	5.0	2·8	5·0	0 7
City College ...	4·8	0·5	0·6	2·9	4·5	1·0	1·3	0·3
Presidency College	3·3	0.1	0·1	1·5	14·5	0·5	0·4	0·1
Vidyasagar College	5·9	1·0	1·8	9·6	25·8	2·6	1·6	...
C. M. S. College	5·3	...	...	1·7	18·0	·7	2·3	...
Bangabasi College	6·0	·2	1·9	3·9	9·8	1 2	1·6	·2
Ripon College ...	4·8	...	·4	1·5	12·5	1·0	·6	...
St.Xavier's College	4·6	·85	·28	·28	14 6	·57	·57	·28
South Suburban College	6·5	·7	·5	·52	14·6	1·05	2·1	·17
General ...	5·27	·54	·8	2·6	8 9	1·05	1·04	·16

TABLE No. 23 A.

Percentage Table of Some General Defects

According to Age

Age	Number of students	Heart	Lungs	Throat	Tonsils	Adenoids	Spleen	Liver	Hydro-cele	Varico-cele	Orchitis	Genitalia	Hernia	Eye	Skin	Teeth	Gum	Ear	All general defects.
16	382	5·49	0·26	6·8	11·25	...	2·35	0·52	0·26	...	1·04	0·52	0·26	2·09	6·81	4·45	5·49	...	55·5
17	1,244	6·43	0·32	4·26	10·04	...	2·81	0·8	0·56	0·16	·803	0·08	0·16	2·33	2·97	2·57	1·61	·08	44·8
18	1,435	5·92	0·41	3·41	10·31	...	2·22	0·9	0·76	·06	0·76	...	0·06	2·16	2·92	3·2	1·3	...	43·3
19	1,389	4·36	0·21	4·17	8·13	...	2·23	0·79	0·79	...	1·22	0·14	0·14	2·51	3·59	3·52	1·72	·07	43·1
20	1,131	5·12	0·44	5·21	8·48	·09	2·82	0·79	1·41	...	0·88	...	0·17	1·76	1·94	3·09	1·78	...	42·8
21	682	3·95	0·43	5·86	8·79	...	2·63	1·02	1·75	0·43	1·17	0·14	0·14	0·87	2·49	3·81	2·19	...	44·6
22	475	3·15	2·73	3·57	4·21	·21	3·57	0·21	1·89	...	0·42	...	...	1·47	2·9	2·9	2·31	...	38·5
23	222	4·5	...	5·40	4·5	...	3·15	0·45	2·70	0·45	2·25	...	0·45	0·45	0·90	1·35	0·45	...	33·8
24	110	6·36	1·81	3·63	11·81	...	2·72	0·91	...	0·91	5·45	...	0·91	2·72	1·81	2·72	1·81	...	53·6
25	50	6·0	2·0	...	8·0	...	2·0	6·0	4·0	...	2·0	...	2·0	2·0	2·0	4·0	2·0	...	54
26	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
27	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

TABLE No. 24

Total Defectives

Scottish Churches College	58%
University Classes	76%
City College	55%
Presidency College	79%
Vidyasagar College	77%
C. M. S. College	68%
Bangabasi College	68%
Ripon College	67%
St. Xavier's College	69%
South Suburban College	70%
General	66%

TABLE No. 25

Percentages of Total Defectives and General Defects according to Age

	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	Total.
Total Defectives	60·4	60·4	66·9	64·1	69·4	70·9	69·2	62·6	80·	86·	91·3	66·1
General Defects	28·7	29·1	28·3	27·2	29·4	29·03	27·1	23·8	30·9	34·	39·1	28·4
Heart ...	5·49	6·43	5·92	4·96	5·12	3·95	3·15	4·504	6·36	6·	4·34	5·27
Pulse ...	1·83	3·05	2·99	2·15	2·74	3·22	5·47	2·702	4·54	6·	4·34	2·99

Caste.	Number.	General Appearance.	Vision Normal.	Audition Left.	Height.	Weight.	Ponderal Index.	Cephalic Index.	Chest Inspiration	Chest Expansion.	Fecundity.
Brahmins ...	471	A—7·8 B—7·2 C—55·4 D—29·5	73·6	73·5	166·3	50·4	2·224	80·5	82·7	3·9	(423) ·44
Kayasthas ...	405	A—7·98 B—4·98 C—53·1 D—33·9	65·9	75·7	165·4	50·2	2·25	80·3	82·1	3·8	·44
Baidyas ...	126	A—9·52 B—7·13 C—52·38 D—30·93	57·14	78·5	166·7	50·4	2·33	80·4	81·98	4·3	119) ·42
Mahomedans ...	87	A—3·4 B—3·4 C—63·2 D—29·8	74·7	82 09	165·5	49·5	2·193	79	81·3	3·7	·44

AGE 21.

Caste.	Number.	General Appearance.	Vision Normal.	Audition Left.	Height.	Weight.	Ponderal Index.	Cephalic Index.	Chest Inspiration	Chest Expansion.	Fecundity.
Brahmins ...	203	A—9·4 B—7·9 C—60·8 D—21·7	70·5	77·05	167·2	52·6	2·23	80·1	84·2	4·15	(189) ·39
Kayasthas ...	171	A—7·1 B—6·5 C—56·8 D—29·5	60·8	69·7	166·5	51·2	2·00	79·3	83·6	3·8	·41
Baidyas ...	44	A—13·63 B—13·63 C—52·21 D—20·45	47·72	74	169·1	53·9	2·251	79·5	85·7	4·86	(43) ·38
Mahomedans ...	57	A—3·5 B—7·01 C—64·9 D—24·5	71·9	68·7	165·8	50·03	2·223	78·4	81·4	3·6	·43

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

ROWING CLUB SECTION

Statement of Income & Expenditure for the year 1923.

Dr.	Rs.	A.	P.	Cr.	Rs.	A.
Locks & chains	23	14	0	Carried forward from last year's Accounts	30	11
Ground rent and haul-up charges paid to P. W. D.	4	8	3	Admission fees	47	0
				Subscription fees	76	0
Duplicate Ticket of Boat No. 12	0	12	0	University contingency grants.	516	0
Demurrage for Boats Nos. 2,6,7,8,11 paid on 16-3-23.	3	12	0			
Labour charges by P. W. D. in connection with the seizure of Boat No. 1.	1	0	0			
Duster and Postage	9	6	3			
Petty repairs	24	5	0			
[illegible]s	7	4	0			
Rowlock 1 doz.	12	8	0			
Typewriting charges	3	8	0			
Conveyance in connection with the inspection of repair work	12	7	0			
Miscellaneous	2	4	0			
Contingency expenditure as per contingency bills	516	0	0			
	621	8	6			
Balance in-hand	48	3	3			
	669	11	9		669	11

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